



TOWER ON THE SITE OF
THE OLD FORT OF NORUMBEGA.
SET UP IN 1900.

A.D. 1000

A.D. 1889



NORUMBEGA

CITY·COUNTRY·FORT·RIVER·

NORUMBEGA = NORUMBEGA
INDIAN UTTERANCE OF NORBEGA THE ANCIENT FORM
OF NORVEGA·NORWAY·TO WHICH THE
REGION OF VINLAND WAS SUBJECT

CITY

AT AND NEAR WATERTOWN
WHERE REMAIN TO-DAY
DOCKS·WHARVES·WALLS·DAMS·BASINS·

COUNTRY

EXTENDING FROM RHODE ISLAND TO THE ST·LAWRENCE·
FIRST SEEN BY BJARNI HERJULFSON·985 A·D·
LANDFALL OF LEIF ERIKSON ON CAPE COD·1000 A·D·
NORSE CANALS·DAMS·WALLS·PAVEMENTS·
FORTS·TERRACED PLACES OF ASSEMBLY REMAIN TO-DAY·

FORT

AT BASE OF TOWER AND REGION ABOUT
WAS OCCUPIED BY THE BRETON FRENCH IN THE
15TH 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES·

RIVER

• THE CHARLES •

DISCOVERED BY LEIF ERIKSON·1000 A·D·

EXPLORED BY THORWALD·LEIF'S BROTHER·1003 A·D·

COLONIZED BY THORFINN KARLSEFNI·1007 A·D·

FIRST BISHOP ERIK GRUPSON·1121 A·D·

INDUSTRIES FOR 350 YEARS

MAJOR·WOOD·BURN·FISH·FURS·AGRICULTURE·
LATEST NORSE SHIP RETURNED TO ICELAND IN 1347·

THE
DEFENCES OF NORUMBEGA

AND

A REVIEW OF THE RECONNAISSANCES

OF

COL. T. W. HIGGINSON, PROFESSOR HENRY W. HAYNES, DR. JUSTIN WINSOR,
DR. FRANCIS PARKMAN, AND REV. DR. EDMUND F. SLAFTER

A LETTER TO JUDGE DALY

President of the American Geographical Society

BY

EBEN NORTON HORSFORD

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1891

UNIVERSITY PRESS:
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE.

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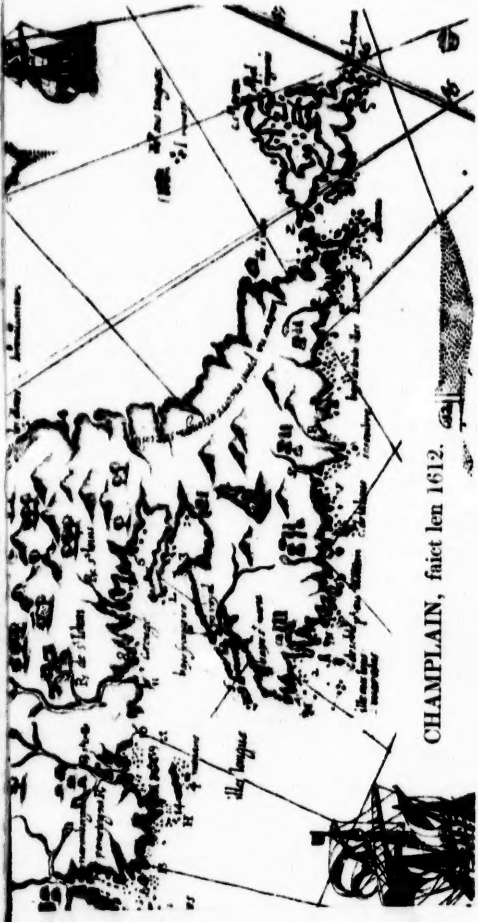
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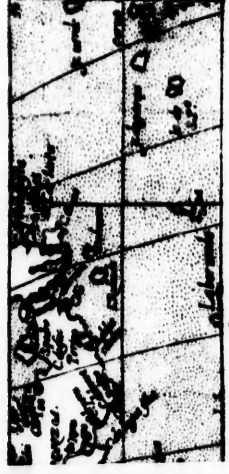
PETER MARTYR

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PETER MARTYR



CHAMPLAIN, fait en 1612.



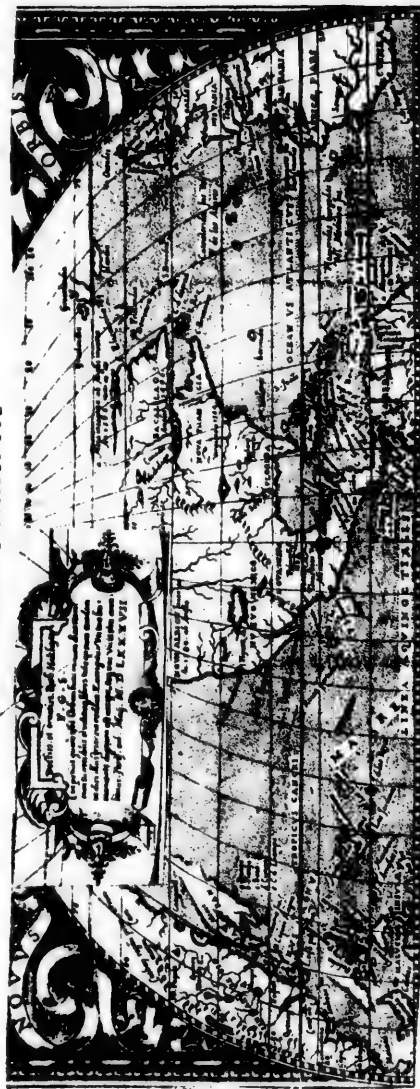
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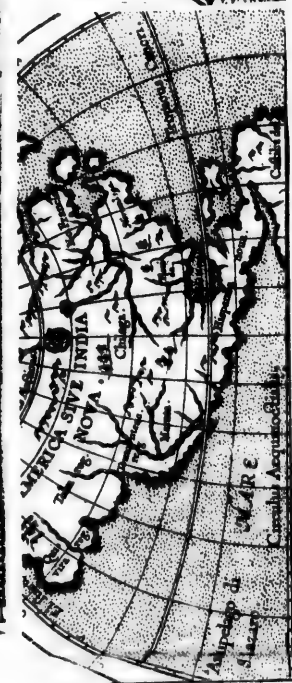
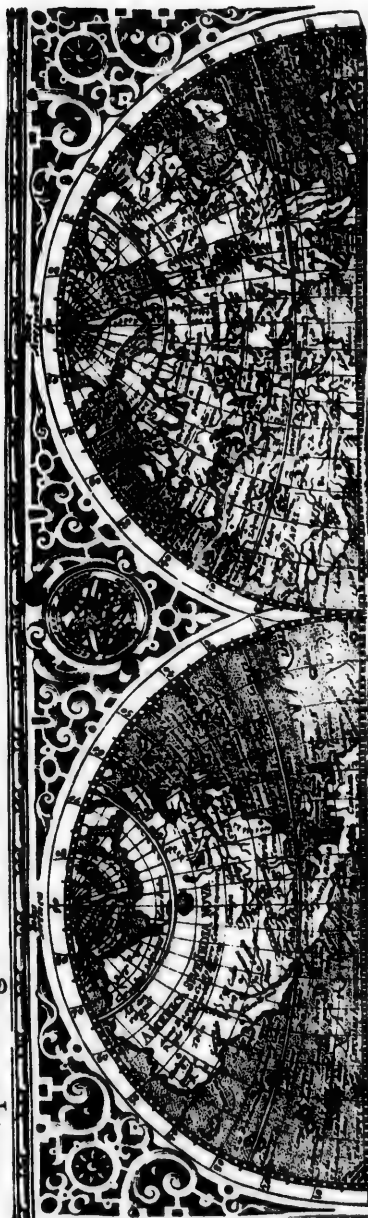
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PETER MARTYR

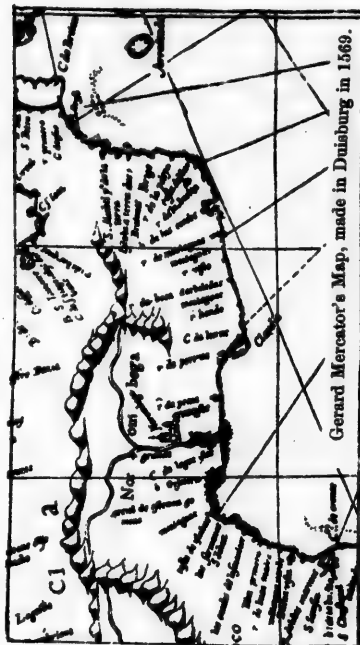


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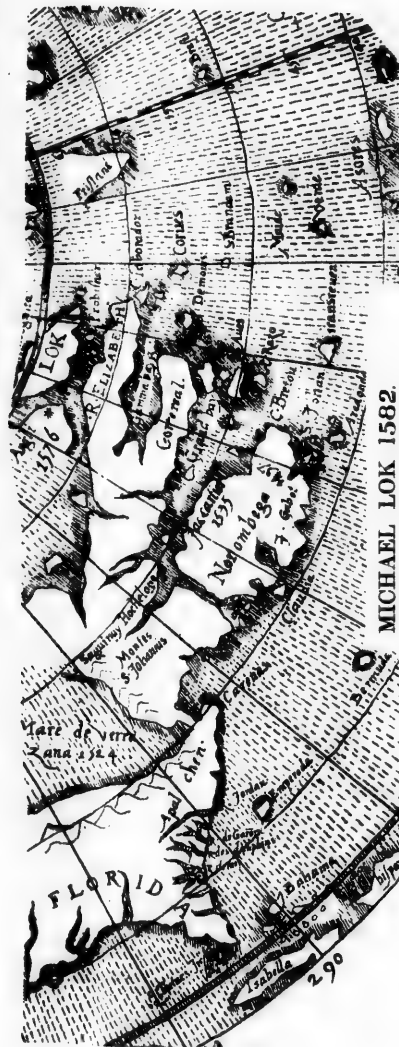
DAUPHIN, 1543-46



Gerard Mercator's Map, made in Duisburg in 1569.



THEVET OF ABOUT 1556.



MICHAEL LOK 1582



JOHN DEE, 1580.



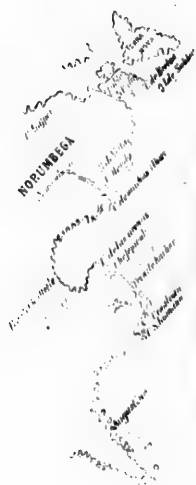
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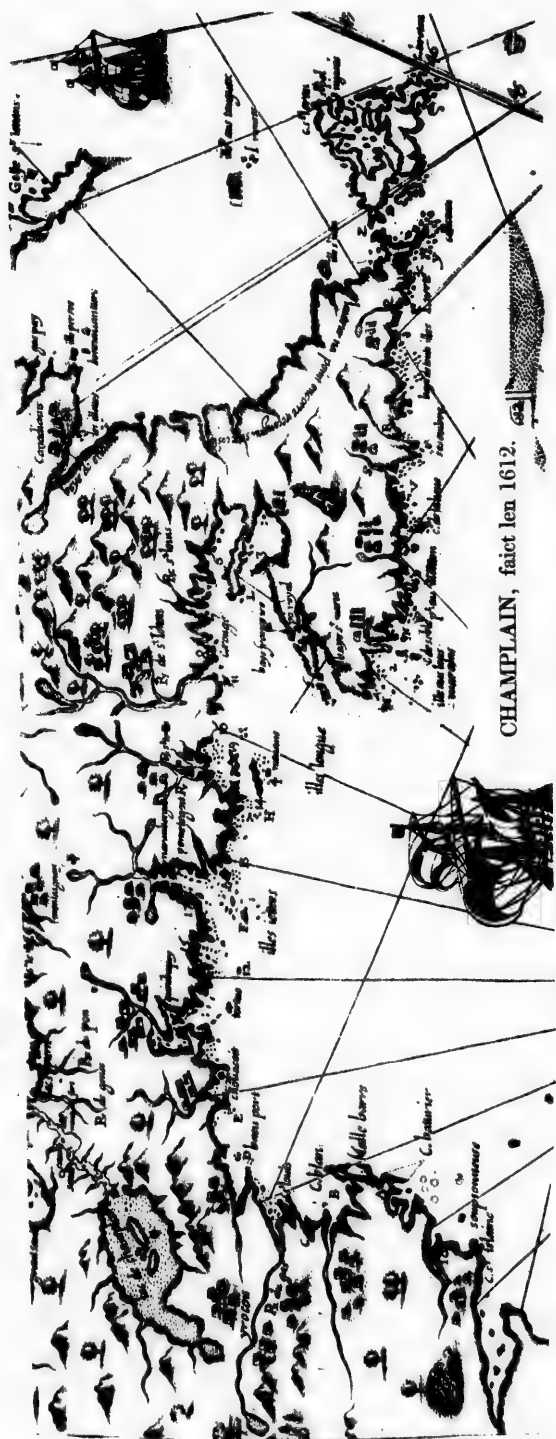
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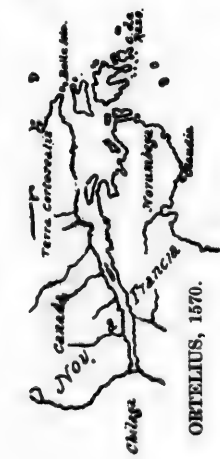
QUADUS, 1600.



HONDIUS MERCATOR, 1600.



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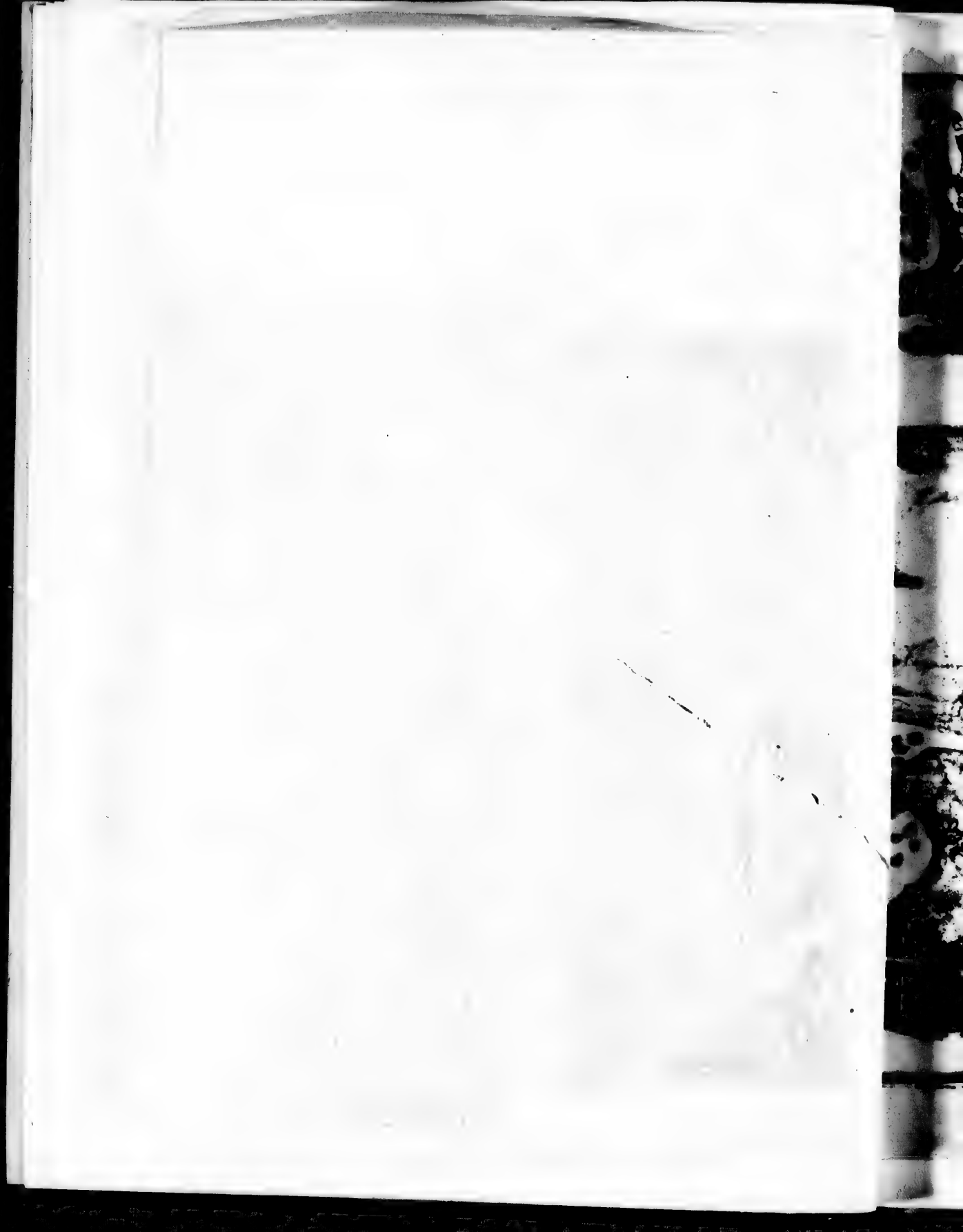
ORTELIUS, 1570.



SOLIS, 1598.



BOTEBO, 1603.



*Relations of Allouance to the two Cap-Bretons, one in the
43°, and the other between 45° 30 and 47°*



ALLEFONSCÉ, 1643

Port de la Française



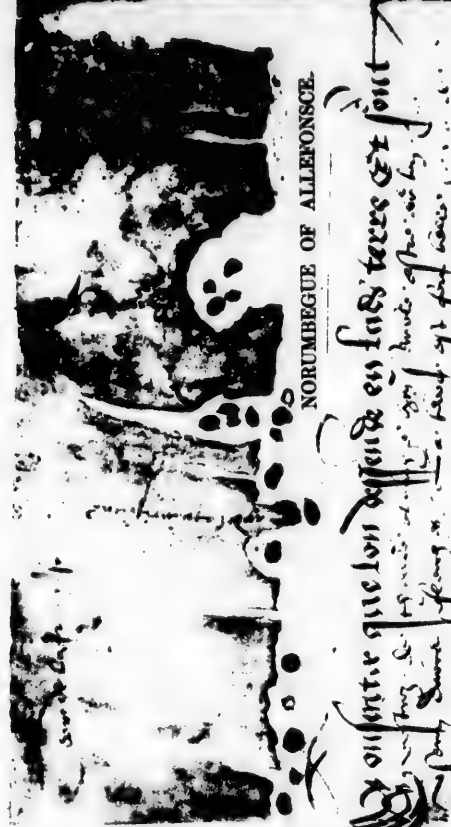
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**ALLEFONSOE, 1543**

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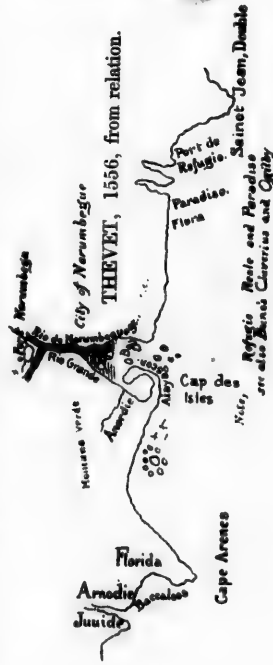


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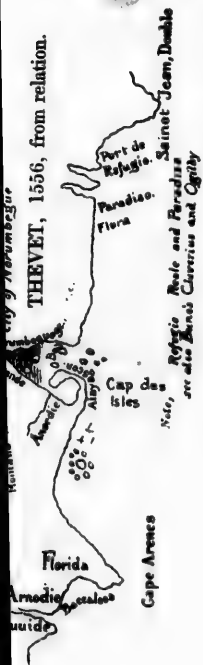


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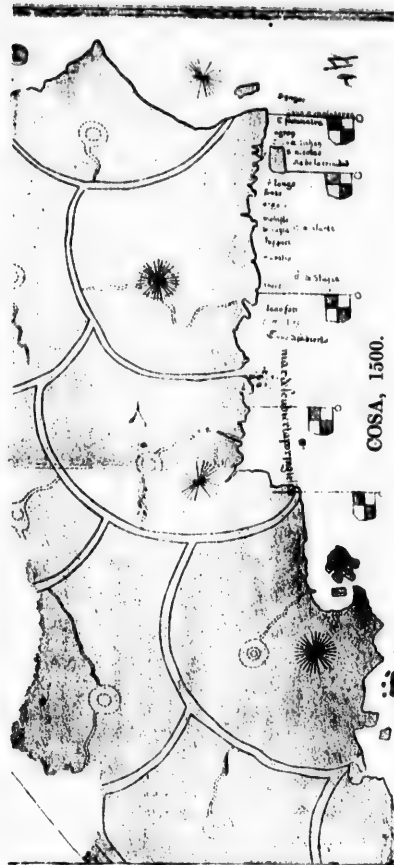
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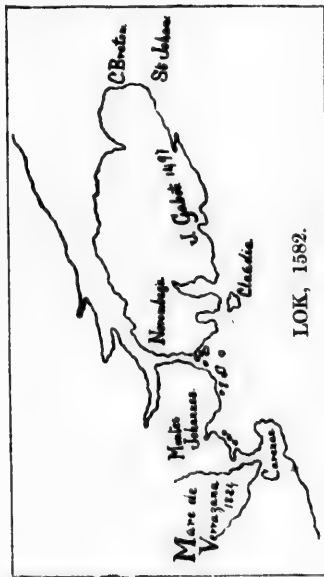
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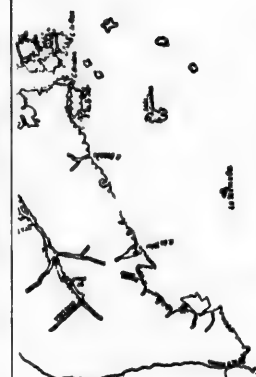
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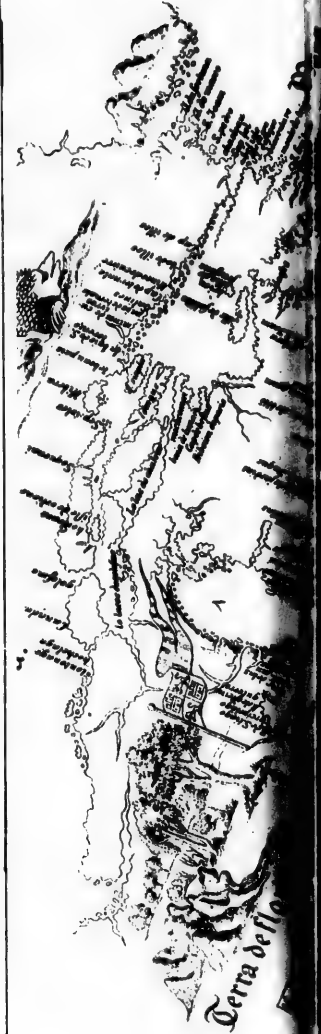
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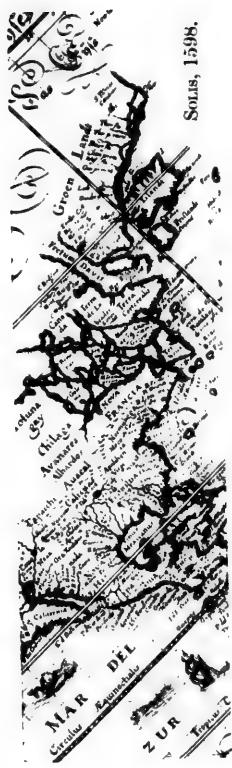


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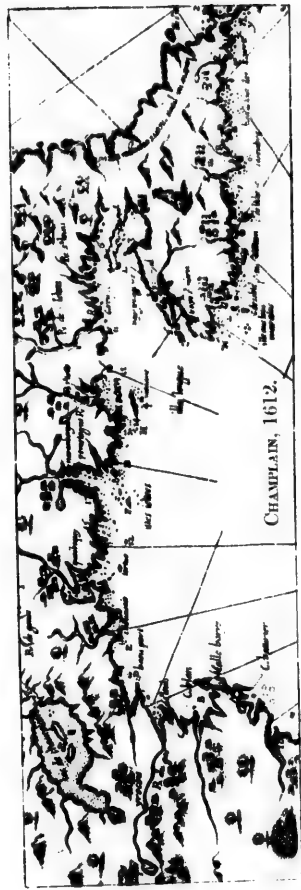




DIEGO HOMER 1558.



SOLIS, 1598.



que lon desende en l'ady terre & x sont



DEFENCES OF NORUMBEGA.

JUDGE DALY, *President of the American Geographical Society*:

DEAR SIR, — You may recall that in my Story of the Discovery of the Site of the Ancient City of Norumbega, at the special meeting of the President and Council of the American Geographical Society held at Watertown in November of 1889, I treated the chief results at which I had arrived as fulfilments of predictions which I had not hesitated to make, in the light of legitimate scientific deduction, from the Vineland Sagas, aided by my study of the related literature and my researches in the field.

In this paper I shall give what will be seen to be confirmation of the convictions expressed in my earlier communication. It will consist of materials that are almost independent of the course of argument which I last year pursued. They will be largely maps and records, which tell a story of themselves essentially coincident with that submitted at Watertown.

It may not have escaped your recollection that in my letter to you of June, a year and a half ago, under the title of "THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTHMEN," I was led to the exclamation, "Is Massachusetts a Preserve?" I find myself obliged a second time to turn from the line of my researches to that of my personal defence; and in so doing, the phrase I have cited seems as suited to my present needs as it was to my first. I even see in it a twofold quality that had not earlier attracted my attention. It has its humorous as well as its serious aspect.

Why not look at it from both sides? It may enliven the discussion. Whether as a query or as an expression of surprise, the phrase may to some have seemed a chance shot. It will be seen, however, that the shaft found its target.

The recent setting up of the Tower and its Tablet of Inscriptions at the mouth of Stony Brook, with the palpable object of drawing attention to the earthworks of what, in the literature of the geography of the sixteenth century, had been called a Fort, and which I believed to be one of the seats of a great Norse industry, had, it cannot be denied, the air of conscious possession of the field. My right to such possession has been challenged, in terms which, whether welcome or otherwise, have effected a desirable end. — they have disclosed the limit of the resources that may be brought to bear in a charge on the defences of Norumbega.

The dispute of my right has had another effect. It has directed particular attention to the ancient seaport of Vineland at Watertown. It has perhaps contributed also to the transfer, not necessarily unfortunate, of the assumed claim which has been made to exclusive right of judgment upon the weight of evidence in this field from the exercise of a relatively few to whoever may care to study the subject on the spot. The physical remains of ancient structures deemed essential to the proof that Northmen once dwelt in the valley of the Charles, have been found. They can be seen and examined by any one. Their place is settled. They are not inconsiderable in extent. The very citadel that is to be held or abandoned is pointed out. It is at Watertown, which I hold to be the site of the ancient city of Norumbega. This is denied in terms that cover all evidences whatever, not only of the presence of Northmen in the valley of the Charles, but on the American Continent south of Davis' Strait. The terms of this denial are not wanting either in precision or the air of conviction.

The situation may not be wholly the subject of regret. Possibly in this sweeping denial and a reply lies the only way in which a newly



Photo. of the ruins of the ancient city of Norimberg, at the site of Wuerzburg, on the Rhine.
Discovered in 1889.



discovered historical verity can be established. A truth of recent advent, that is to prevail, like an exotic in the plant world, as we all know, finds its texture hardened and toughened by exposure successively to winds from all quarters. If its support be feeble, it may for the time be crushed by the violence of the assault; but if it has genuine and adequate foundation, it will finally assert itself. In this way the roots of plants and of truths gain deep and lasting hold. Let us accept the inevitable. The truth must be fought for. There must needs be assault and defence. The story of the Northmen can claim no exemption from the general law.

The preliminaries have taken place in proper order.

A considerable number of gentlemen of recognized authority in the early history of the Commonwealth have assumed what may be regarded as the rôle of Custodians of the Preserve, and risen to proclaim, each from his own standpoint, the inviolability of the ground I have invaded.

The language in which they refer to me, directly or indirectly, as the aim of their communications, identifies me beyond question. Of course, I must play my part. I am reconciled to the unavoidable, and not without a measure of content,—except, possibly, with the style of the weapons used. I may try to be resigned even to this. To be sure, I have been surprised. I had not believed such a kind of surprise profitable to the critics; but they doubtless know best.

It will be interesting—amusing—one of these days to look over a record of the charges against me for having attempted, in my fortunate leisure and opportunities, to widen the base of the glory of the State of my adoption. There are charges against me of “cartological perversion;”¹ assertions that my papers are significant mainly in the “study

¹ Peterman's Mittheilung (contributed by Ruge), Hefte 9, 1890, echoes the arraignment by the author in the “Narrative and Critical History of America,” on the charge of “cartological (sic) perversion.” (In the letter of June, 1889, I assumed this “cartological” to be a misprint for *cartographical*, which is a recognized English word.) Of the article in the “Nation” of May 3, 1888, p. 368, in the column of Book Notices, I have spoken in the “Problem of the Northmen.” Its source is obvious. *Agnosco stylum*.

of psychology;" that those historians only find evidences of the presence of the Northmen in Massachusetts "who are distinguished for exuberance of imagination and redundancy of thought;" that the idea of evidence of any kind that Northmen ever came south of Davis' Strait is "abandoned except by a few enthusiastic advocates;" that I am trying by unworthy means to impose upon children (not to say grown men and women) my views on the subject of the discovery of America by Northmen;¹ that I rely upon evidence which at the best is only "insufficient and trivial;" that my authorities are untrustworthy, little known, or vague and uncertain in statement,—and so on. And these sweeping charges are made by gentlemen who conceive themselves entitled to claim that their naked, adverse opinion shall be accepted as competent authority in a matter of geography, while there are countless maps and charts, and the testimony of discoverers and explorers, which, carefully examined, *may be found* to hold as I do.

The fate that has attended my researches is not, however, without precedent. It might be considered improper in me to allude to instances in the history of geographical discovery; but there is, in another field of research, an old and familiar illustration of the reluctance with which new truth is generally received,—for example, in the fate of Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood. He conducted experimental researches, and published the results to which they led him. He was credited by the critics of his time with adopting absurd views after trivial research. But he was wise enough to expect that the magnificent discovery he had given to the world would not be accepted by his contemporaries, especially by those past middle age.

Harvey was a man of the rarest accomplishment as a scientific inquirer. His learning and skill were recognized; he was the chosen physician of two sovereigns of England. When his great discovery was announced,

¹ "The little clique devoted to the Cult of the Norse Discovery of America, which they are striving by every means, legitimate or otherwise, to impose upon the rising generation," etc. — HENRY W. HAYNES: *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1890, p. 339.

he was discredited, sneered at, persecuted, lampooned, pitied; copies of his elaborate papers were heaped in bonfires and burned; he was virtually driven from the profession. By whom, do you ask? I answer, By many of the most distinguished — yes, and learned — of the medical fraternity of his age. How could this have been, one naturally inquires. The reply is near at hand: They *might* have made the discovery themselves. As they were competent, and did not, no one could. This was the legitimate conclusion of his critics. We explain it by saying that such conduct is consistent with what we know of human nature. It has been said, with a hint not always deeply concealed, that the human nature of the individual, like that of the race, changes slowly. In time, however, the world came to accept, and believe and profit in, the discovery of the circulation of the blood.

Can any one who offers to show evidences of a birthday for the colonization of the basin of the Charles earlier by six hundred years than the advent of the Puritans expect to escape the penalty appointed for his audacity?

One need not pursue the theme. It is a very old experience, and not confined to any one country or time. Let me accept at once the responsibility of all with which I may fairly be charged, and brace myself to the consequences. I need not refer to the discovery of the Landfall of John Cabot in 1497, and the guess-work — not to say more — of Sebastian his son, nor of the clearing up of the truth of the narratives of Verrazano and of Gomez, which in general terms I have more than once placed in print. They belong to another field. I am now to consider only the work in connection with the Northmen. Here is a general summary:

It is, I believe, true that I was the first to discover that the Landfall of Leif Erikson was on an island once at the north end of Cape Cod, now joined to the mainland, but still existing at the time of Cosa (1500), Ruysch (1507), Allefonsce (1542), and Gosnold (1602); the first to trace Leif's sail thereafter across the mouth of Cape Cod Bay

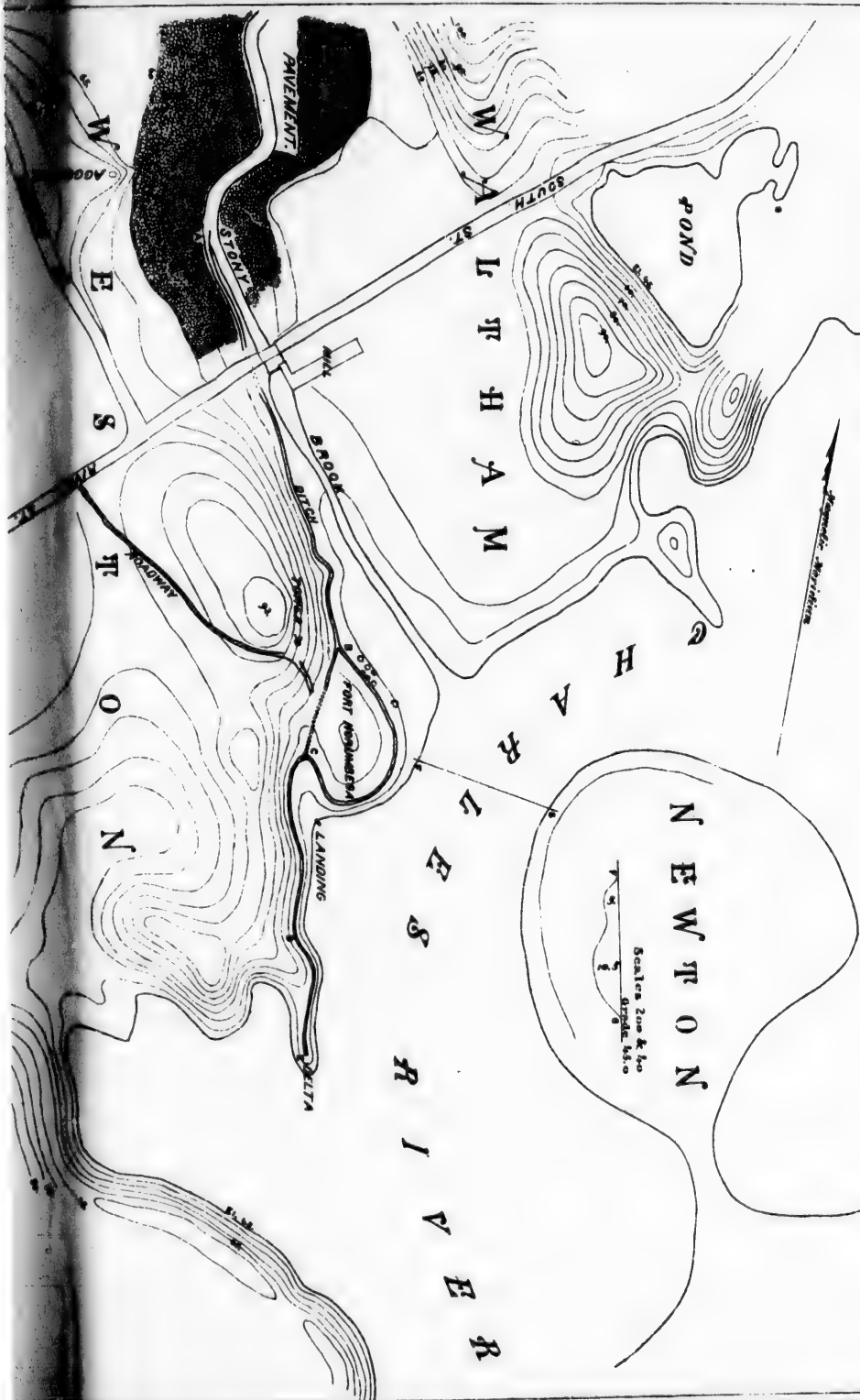
and along the coast from the Gurnet, past Cohasset and Nantasket, to Boston Harbor, where he grounded on an ebb tide, and later, with the incoming flood, passed through the entrance to the Boston Back Bay,—the Hóp of Thorfinn, “a small land-locked bay, salt at flood tide and fresh at ebb,”—the small lake three leagues around of Verrazano, “the lake through which a river [the Charles] flowed from the land to the sea,” according to Leif,—to the site of his house at Gerry's Landing in Cambridge; the first to recognize in the Sagas the exploration of Charles River by Thorwald; the first to identify the Furdustrand pursued by Thorfinn around the curve southward from Kjalarnes (Cape Cod) to Nauset Harbor, and a few leagues beyond to a second bay; the first to identify the strait against Chatham as the Straumfjörd of Thorfinn; the first to identify the extension of the present Monomoy as the Straumö (Island of Currents) outside of the Straumfjörd of Thorfinn; and lastly, to show that his party did not go southward beyond the elbow of Cape Cod. It was also my fortune to discover the great fisheries of Stony Brook,¹ including the more than four acres of area, evenly paved with closely and skilfully adjusted massive bowlders, resting on the expanse of deep vegetable mould at the bottom of the valley; also to find and explore the artificial canals strewn throughout the basin of the Charles; also to discover the site of the ancient city of Norumbega, with its walled docks and wharves, dam, fishway, and miles of stone-walls along the Charles below, still in remarkably good preservation, once serving great Norse enterprises, and now more or less in use as underlying or otherwise connected with prominent industries of the historic village of Watertown.

I need not refer in this connection to the wealth, philological and ethnological, that through these researches has been brought to the

¹ From such accounts as I have read and heard, I am persuaded that the pavements along the shores at Pemaquid in Maine, and the masses of angular rocks and bowlders at the mouth of Ipswich River, which I have had photographed with the adjoining terraces, offer a field for archaeological research second only to that of Stony Brook, as of possible settlement by Northmen, and devoted to the same industries that were pursued in the basin of the Charles.

By Geo. Davis, Civil Engineer.

1886



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TEIRAGE AND AREA OF PLOTS
AT THE MOUTH OF HERRING RIVER,
MASSACHUSETTS.

student of Massachusetts history. I am afraid I should be thought venturesome if I were to betray my estimate of the richness of the field opened up to archaeology — not of Massachusetts alone — by the discovery of Norumbega, and the not unworthy pride the heirs of the Pilgrims and Puritans will yet take in the possession of this gateway to treasure infinitely transcending all the material wealth which Whittier's Norman Knight believed to be in the "Barbaric City."

It is not, I know, altogether a light thing to carry back through so many centuries the birthday of a realm. But as I should do no violence to my own convictions if I were to intimate that I regard the determinations I have made as additions to the early history of Massachusetts and of America, so I believe, that, having been led to give time and effort to establish these convictions, I am in duty bound to stand in their defence.

I need not go further. If at all, I am unquestionably a poacher of degree.

If this be a sufficient acknowledgment of my offences, in view of what has been directed against me personally, let me return to the more serious phase of the —

PROBLEM OF THE NORTHMEN.

To dispute my views, there have appeared in the columns of a leading newspaper of Boston¹ the communications to which I have referred. They discredit the conclusions at which I have arrived in a field of geographical research, after several years of uninterrupted investigation, with every co-operation I could command.

Among the writers who have done me the honor to differ from me and publicly to express their dissent, is the Rev. Dr. Edmund F. Slafter, the venerable editor of Beamish's Translation of certain of the Vineland Sagas for the Prince Society's Publications; also of its edition of Champlain's Voyages, to which he prefaced a carefully prepared memoir of

¹ The "Boston Evening Traveller" of Dec. 28, 1880.

the great explorer; also of the life of Alexander, Earl of Sterling, whose possessions by royal gift once stretched away westward on either side of the St. Lawrence and its tributary lakes, and beyond them to the Vermilion Sea,—the Gulf of California. In addition to these publications of the Society of which Dr. Slafter was one of the original incorporators, he is the author of much other most useful work. Among my critics and censors also are Dr. Francis Parkman, Vice-President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the classic historian of the Pioneers of France in the New World, and the author of many brilliant volumes in the same field that have placed him in the front rank of men of letters; Dr. Justin Winsor, the editor of the "Memorial History of Boston," and of the "Narrative and Critical History of America;" Prof. Henry W. Haynes, whose contributions to Ethnology and Archæology are well known, and to whose earlier expressions of dissent and those of Mr. Winsor I have called attention in my letter of June, 1889, upon "The Problem of the Northmen;" and Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, whose great services in various fields of literature are as familiar to the reading world as is his gallantry in the late war, and his chivalry wherever truth or right has appeared to him to be assailed.

WHAT THE CRITICS ADMIT AND WHAT THEY DENY.

Most of these writers do not seriously question that the Northmen may have discovered the continent of America somewhere to the southwest of Greenland, and may have remained in the neighborhood of their Landfall for a few years. This they deem possible. Such an admission is conservative and safe. Such a frame of mind is consistent, of course, with almost any measure of scepticism in regard to precision of statement.

The proposition to which they have allied themselves is this:—

They hold that trustworthy evidence of the presence of the Northmen, such as the *traces of human handiwork*, or other archæological testimony, *has not been found*, and (by some of these gentlemen it is held)

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never can be found, in New England, as the ground has been carefully and adequately examined.

These conclusions might doubtless have been expected, in view of the special fields of labor in which these writers have so long been successfully engaged. Their labors have been naturally confined largely to the study or consideration of what is to be found in *books*. It is not much to perceive, on a little reflection, that we do not look in books for descriptions of what has not been seen. The principal way in which knowledge can be gained of the presence of still existing memorials of the Northmen on our shores, as yet not recognized, is by looking where the impressions may have been made,—*in the field*. There, if they exist, we may hope to find, with thoughtful consideration of what can have survived the incidents of time, the traces of material structures properly to be ascribed to the Northmen. To be guided to the general field, one might be expected in a question like this to take advantage of the writings of the early Scandinavian explorers, who claim to have visited Vineland. The thoughtful student would consult also the history of the geographical terminology, in connection with the native languages, of the region conceived to have been occupied by the Northmen. Besides these, there is another branch of philological evidence connected with cartography which will be opened up in the progress of this letter. Not one of these lines of investigation seems to have attracted the sustained and profitable attention of my critics.

Nevertheless, they have found what they are willing to put in print in defence of the trust they have assumed, and I ask you to look at the significance of it as a demonstration against the ancient city of Norumbega.¹ You will see with what measure of care they have studied what, in common with others, they have had opportunity to read.

¹ I do not propose in this paper to consider the Landfall of Leif; that and the site of his house in Vineland will soon follow. I shall, however, be compelled to borrow some of its illustrations to meet my present needs. I repeatedly introduce certain maps, for reasons that will be sufficiently obvious. They carry conviction, where without them the best text would be difficult to understand.

THE BATTLE-FIELD.

The burden of the present letter is the determination of the identity of the site of the historic city of Norumbega with that of Watertown. I have, in the "Problem of the Northmen" and in various paragraphs in other papers, pointed out with some degree of vagueness — not always unpurposed — that the Landfall of Leif was on Cape Cod, and his house on the Charles; and I recognize that the proofs I have offered on these points are rather incidental than carefully set in order and prepared to carry clear conviction. My paper on these themes, though long since nearly through the press, has been forced aside. It seemed necessary to reply to the personal reflections to which I have been subjected, and to make known without unnecessary delay the discoveries of the physical remains — the works of engineering and the masonry — I have found in the basin of the Charles.

In the story of the discovery related to you on the completion of the Tower, I have told, as already intimated, how I was conducted by hints in the Sagas and personal exploration in the field to the site of Norumbega. I glanced only at the arguments resting on scanty cartography and the literature of geography. One of my wishes has been that those who differed from me might be led to present, against the views I hold, the arguments that had proved satisfactory to themselves. In this wish I have been gratified. The world, or that small portion of it interested in the Discovery of America by the Northmen, may now know on what foundation rests the scepticism of certain of the learned men who assume to be qualified to pronounce an opinion on this subject.

The city of Norumbega, as I have held, underlaid the modern Watertown. I recall again the *miles of stone-walls* whose construction may be traced to the Northmen. They begin just above the United States Arsenal. In places they have been undermined or removed. In the main, they are nearly continuous on either side of the river — much better preserved (doubtless repaired) on the north side — for about a mile,





expanding at Watertown into docks, wharves, a fishway, and a dam, at the head of tide-water.

It may be claimed to have been already shown, in my earlier communication, that the *dam of rounded boulders* — field-stone — of which all the other walls are dependencies, was the work of these early colonists of Massachusetts, — the Northmen. The communication which I had the honor in November a year ago to present, through you, to the American Geographical Society, traced the origin of the dam to an industry of the Norsemen, — or rather, before I had seen them, deduced the dam and seaport, with the docks and wharves, as indispensable requirements for the conduct of a great Norse industry, of which glimpses are given in the Vineland Sagas. The occasion and the time at my command did not permit the evidence in adequate detail of the correctness of my position. That I propose to submit in this communication.¹

The time is not distant when all who have the needed leisure to investigate the subject will acquiesce in my *demonstration* — I give my assent to nothing less — that Leif landed on Cape Cod in the year 1000, and built his house on the Charles near the Cambridge City Hospital; and that his countrymen and their descendants, for centuries, conducted extensive industries in the basin of the Charles and elsewhere in New England, of which Norumbega is one of the keys and the monument.²

¹ To this end, mainly, I have arranged on detached sheets suites of maps — heliotype copies — constituting absolute *fac-similes* of early authoritative works, many of them rare. Each sheet of maps is designed to aid the student in understanding the line of investigation I have pursued, in regard to one or two points only, bearing on the presence, many centuries ago, of a colony of Northmen in the basin of the Charles. It was inevitable that single maps and important individual facts should be repeated.

² Joshua Toulmain Smith remarks that some of Thorfinn's party remained in Vineland. Gudrid, so Kohl divines, told the authorities at Rome of the beautiful new country in the west, Vineland the Good, — "*Vinland det Goda*," — and about the Christian settlements made there by Scandinavians. Sweyn II., King of Denmark, told Adam of Bremen (see "*Church History*," 1070), of the Island where grapes grew wild, and corn grew spontaneously, of which intelligence had been brought him by trustworthy Danish subjects: "*Praeterea unam adhuc insulam recitavit a multis repertam in illo Oceano, quae dicitur Winland, eo quod ibi vites sponte nascuntur, vinum*

I do not forget that others may not feel the force of the evidence of cartography and of geographical nomenclature as I do. To them there will come, in proper sequence, the narratives of personal visitors to the site of Norumbega in the sixteenth century. To those who cannot believe that the Northmen were in the valley of the Charles until there be laid before them the demonstration of the precise latitude of the points in question, there will be supplied in the progress of this paper the needed conditions for the removal of their last doubt.

Let me indulge the hope that all who, with little or no careful investigation, now so confidently assert their declarations against the presence here of early Northmen, may have the satisfaction, in common with others happily more free to accept new views, of seeing the time when it shall be difficult to find in Massachusetts a man who did not "*always know that Northmen settled somewhere about the basin of the Charles.*"

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE CUSTODIANS OF THE PRESERVE.¹

The letter of Colonel Higginson gives his views of the purpose which the ancient ditches at the mouth of Stony Brook may have subserved, — some hydraulic experiments of the early colonists; speaks of the relative interest he found in the photographic illustrations of some of my papers, as compared with the engravings of the "*Northern Antiquaries*" of fifty years ago, and with some kindred criticism concludes as follows:

"Personally, I should like no archaeological discovery better than one which should place the haunts of the Northmen among these hills and meadows where I played in childhood; but I can see no evidence for it. We are all indebted

optimum ferentes. Nam et fruges ibi non seminatus abundare nos fabulosa opinione, sed certa Danorum comperimus relatione." Expeditions to Vineland at the beginning of the eleventh century are said in the Sagas to have been both "profitable and honorable." Nordenskjöld, who has twice visited Greenland, and has given us the supposed site of the dwelling of Eirik Raude and of Leif his son, at Brattahlid, says the Northmen were here — in Vineland — for more than three hundred years. He wholly acquiesces in the view that the Northmen became largely merged in the Indian tribes, of which we have abundant evidence in local names, and in other forms which I cannot enlarge upon here.

¹ In the "*Boston Evening Traveller*" of Dec. 28, 1889.

1. SINKER. FROM REAR GERRY'S LANDING.

2. ARROW-HEAD.

3. STONE TOMAHAWK.



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to him [Horsford] for calling attention to an interesting conundrum in local antiquities, but I cannot see that he has contributed anything towards its solution; and he was *certainly led into a little unfairness* in the titlepage of one of his pamphlets, where he seemed to attribute to Mr. Winsor a sentence written by Mr. George Bancroft, which Mr. Winsor had only quoted with approval."

Possibly. Let us look at the measure of the unfairness. I submit first what Mr. Bancroft said (p. 312, vol. iii., 1840). It carries the mark of the confident conviction of the venerable historian:¹—

"Scandinavians may have reached the shores of Labrador; the soil of the United States has not one vestige of their presence."

¹ Even Homer was said at times to nod. There is precedent for almost anything in the way of mistakes among the writings of our best men. There was even a "vinegar" Bible. The habits of research which permitted the statement found on p. 312, vol. iii., 1840, and to which Colonel Higginson and Dr. Winsor have referred, belong to a class not inaptly illustrated on the next page but one to that referred to, of the "History of the United States" (p. 314). Mr. Bancroft there remarks: "It is a curious coincidence that among the Algonquins of the Atlantic and of the Mississippi, alike among the Narragansetts and the Illinois, the *North Star* was called the 'Bear.'"

In the margin are these references: "R. Williams: see Le Clercq's *Relation de la Gaspésie*, 152-153; Charlevoix, iii. 400."

Turning to Roger Williams, on page 21 he says: "2. As the Greekes and other nations, and ourselves call the seven starres (or Charles Waine, the beare), so do they Mosk, or Paykannawaw the beare." And on page 80, we find: "Mosk or Paukunawaw [*sic*], the Great Beare, or Charles Waine, which words, 'Mosk or Paukannawaw' [*sic*], signifies a Beare, which is so much the more observable, because in most languages that signe or constellation is called 'the Beare.'"

Le Clercq says: "Though our Gaspesiens are so ignorant, that, as we have said, they can neither read nor write, they have nevertheless some knowledge of the Great and the Little Bears; which they call, the first, Mouhinne, and the second Mouhin-chichte, which means in our language substantially the Great and the Little Bears."

Charlevoix (vol. iii. p. 400) says: "They give the name of 'Bear' to the four principal stars of what we call the 'Great Bear;' the three which compose its tail, or which are the train of the Chariot of David, are, according to them, the 'three Hunters,' which pursue the Bear. . . . The Indians of Acadie name the whole simply the great and little Bears. . . . The most part of the Indians call the *polar Star* 'the Star that does not move.'"

The definition of Charles's Wain found in the Imperial Dictionary is, "The seven brightest stars in the constellation called Ursa Major, or The Great Bear."

The constellation of the Great Bear, or Ursa Major, had apparently been first mistaken by

What Mr. Winsor said (p. 95, vol. i., "Narrative and Critical History of America") is this: Referring to what Mr. Bancroft had published — "*to the intent that though 'Scandinavians may have reached the shores of Labrador, the soil of the United States has not one vestige of their presence,' IS TRUE NOW AS WHEN FIRST WRITTEN.*"

What the titlepage of my letter of June 1, 1889, gave as the "*opinion of Justin Winsor,*" was this:—

"Though Scandinavians may have reached the shores of Labrador, the soil of the United States has not one vestige of their presence."

Mr. Winsor in his recent communication relieves Mr. Bancroft, Colonel Higginson, and himself in the following passage, which I quote from his communication in the "Traveller":—

"There is not a single item of all the evidence advanced from time to time, which can be said to connect by archæological traces the presence of the Northmen on the soil of North America south of Davis' Strait. Arguments of this kind have been abandoned, except by a few enthusiastic advocates."

Of the qualifications which underlie this repetition of judgment, it may be mentioned that, besides the vast editorial work, requiring more or less of geographical accomplishment, upon the eight folio volumes (some forty-four hundred pages in all) of the individual original researches of others that go to make up the "Narrative and Critical History of America," Mr. Winsor has himself been a prominent contributor to the work. He has, indeed, produced, among his latest papers, one of nearly a hundred closely printed folio pages, entitled

Mr. Bancroft for that of *Ursa Minor*, in the tail of which is *Polaris*, the North Star; and this *constellation* had been mistaken for a *single star*. It is a singular instance of the hurried examination of original authorities by a most learned man, of bad proof-reading in the first revise, succeeded by indifferent, or a scarcity of careful, readers, — otherwise the error had been earlier pointed out. Whatever the explanation may be or may have been, it is clear that Mr. Bancroft's violent judgment on the Problem, however in keeping with the method of research of the times in which it was written, carries with it a clear intimation of the caution with which his statements on this theme should be received.

"Pre-Columbian Explorations," which purports to have exhausted the literature relating to the expeditions of the Northmen to Vineland, with the result we have seen.

Thus, after the eight folio volumes of "Critical History of America" have been written and published, we have this result announced at once in the first volume of the series, and the last in point of time:—

"There is not a single item of . . . evidence . . . [of] the presence of the Northmen on the soil of North America south of Davis' Strait."

To this conviction Mr. Winsor's method of geographical investigation has conducted him.

Professor Haynes says:—

"There is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Erikson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon: they are both traditions accepted by the later writers. . . . It is antecedently probable that the Norsemen discovered America in the early part of the eleventh century; but that discovery is confirmed by the same sort of historical tradition, not strong enough to be called evidence, upon which our belief in many of the facts of history rests."

The likeness referred to has been recognized by Vigfusson between the works of Homer and the great poems of the Heroic Age of Scandinavia, — such as the Eddas, — but not before, so far as I know, between the Iliad on the one hand and the *logs of merchant-ships* preserved in the Vineland Sagas on the other.

That one may appreciate the weight of this argument of Professor Haynes, compare the first two stanzas of Cowper's Iliad with the opening paragraphs of Leif's Expedition to Vineland, in the Saga of Eirik Raude. They read as follows:—

ILIAD.

Sing, Muse, the deadly wrath of Peleus' son
Achilles, source of many thousand woes
To the Achaian host, which num'rous souls
Of heroes sent to Ades premature,

And left their bodies to devouring dogs
 And birds of Heav'n (so Jove his will perform'd)
 From that dread hour when discord first embroil'd
 Achilles and Atrides, King of Men.
 Who of the gods impell'd them to contend?
 Latona's son and Jove's. For he, incens'd
 Against the King, a foul contagion raised
 In all the host, and multitudes destroy'd,
 For the affront from Atreus' son received
 By his priest Chryses. To the fleet of Greece
 He came, with precious ransom to redeem
 His captive daughter, and Apollo's wreath
 And golden sceptre bearing in his hand.

LEIF'S EXPEDITION FROM GREENLAND.

They then fitted out their ship, and when they were ready, sailed seaward.

They now found that country first which Bjarni had found last. There they stood in, cast anchor, and put out the boat, and went ashore, but could see no grass. Great glaciers covered the highlands, but it was as one flat rock from the sea to the glaciers. The country appeared to be utterly worthless.

Then said Leif: "The same thing has not happened to us which did to Bjarni, — that we have not stepped ashore; and now I shall give this country a name, and call it HELLULAND."

They then went to the ship and put out to sea, and found another country. They again sailed to land, cast anchor, put out a boat, and walked ashore. That country was level and wooded, and white sands in many places where they went, and not steep along the sea.

Then said Leif: "This country shall be named according to its qualities, — MARKLAND."

Then going down again to the ship as quickly as possible, they sailed seaward, and for two days they sailed with a northeasterly wind until they sighted land. They sailed to the country, and came to an island which lay to the north of the mainland; walked ashore, and looked about in fine weather. They noticed that dew was on the grass, and happening to touch it with their hands and put it into their mouths, thought they never had tasted anything so sweet as that. They then went to their

ship, and sailed into that sound which lay between the island and the ness which jutted out north of the mainland, and steered westward past the ness. There, great shallows extended at ebb-tide, and then their ship stood aground, and then it appeared far from the vessel to the sea. But so eager were they to go ashore, that they could not wait until the sea should return to their ship, but leaped ashore where a river flowed out of a lake. But when the tide returned to their ship, then they took the boat and rowed to the ship, and it moved up into the river and then into the lake. There they cast anchor, and carried their leathern hammocks ashore and made booths there. They then decided to dwell there during the winter, and erected there a large building. . . .

This is the story of Leif's voyage from Greenland to Vineland.

Dr. Winsor and Professor Haynes substantially repeat the criticisms I have printed in my letter on the "Problem of the Northmen,"—and to which I have replied, in the same publication.

Dr. Winsor now omits the statement which I quoted from him last year, that the report of the Committee, by its Chairman, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, on the discovery of America by the Northmen, "*fully* expressed the sense of the Society . . . in language which seems to be the result of the best historical criticism."

But it does not seem to have occurred either to him or to the Chairman to state that one member of the Committee, the then first Vice-President of the Society, the late Dr. Charles Deane, did not acquiesce in the report, and declined to sign it,—a circumstance, I may add, of which that gentleman took occasion, after the report was printed, personally to inform me. It is obvious that the expressions chosen by the Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society must have a technical rather than the commonly accepted meaning, inasmuch as Dr. Deane has been generally recognized to be at the head of this department of research, in New England, and as such, entitled to personal recognition, when expressing dissent. It is, perhaps, due that I should mention that I had shown to Dr. Deane evidences of the presence here of the Northmen which it had not been my fortune to point out to my critics.

REV. DR. SLAFTER'S PUBLISHED VIEWS.

Rev. Dr. Slafter remarked, in the course of his public address before the Bostonian Society,¹ on which occasion I had the honor to be present:—

"Did the Northmen leave on this continent any monuments or remains which may serve as memorials of their abode here in the early part of the eleventh century? Sources of evidence on this point must be looked for in the Sagas or in the remains which can be clearly traced to the Northmen. In the Sagas, we are compelled to say, as much as we might wish it otherwise, we have looked in vain for any such testimony. *They contain no evidence or intimation that the Northmen constructed any masonry here, or laid one stone upon another. . . . There have been some historians who have found vastly more than I have been able to discover, but they belong to that class of historians who are distinguished by exuberance of imagination and redundancy of thought.*"²

In the communication presented to the public through the "Traveller," he says substantially as follows:—

"Vineland, the bay, the river, the islands at the mouth, may mean almost any region, bay, river, with islands at the mouth, in New England. No evidence which is better than insufficient and trivial has been brought forward to positively locate them."

Dr. Slafter is thus emphatic in the expression of his convictions because they are sincere, and based, as he felt, on adequate research. One may ask how could

¹ As supplied to the daily papers.

² The critic may not have met with the following sentence in the address before the Royal Society by the late Sir Benjamin Brodie, and which Tyndal makes the text of one of his brilliant chapters,—"The Scientific Uses of the Imagination":—

"Physical Investigation, more than anything else besides, helps to teach us the actual value and right use of the imagination, — of that wondrous faculty which left to ramble uncontrolled leads us astray into a wilderness of perplexities and errors, a land of mists and shadows, but which properly controlled by experience and reflection becomes the noblest attribute of man, the source of poetic genius, the instrument of discovery in science, without the aid of which Newton would never have invented fluxions, nor Davy have decomposed the earths and alkalies, nor would Columbus have found another continent."

It is a pleasure to recall the memory of this old friend and classmate of nearly fifty years ago. Sir Benjamin Brodie was the eldest son of the eminent surgeon of London. After his course under the great master Liebig, he devoted many years, as Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, to the successful development of numerous subtle laws of Chemistry, thus connecting his name imperishably with the progress of physical science.

I have arrived at others so unlike them? It can only be that from his mind had been concealed the evidence which brought conviction to mine.

Let me crave indulgence for a word about myself. In the first place I have been fortunate. The accident of my residence on the tide-water of the Charles, and my leisure and opportunities, which permitted uninterrupted study of the problem for six years, much of the time in the field, gave what could not have come to me had I lived only so far away as Boston from the theatre of study. With this there was, I may perhaps add, the habit of testing problems by scientific methods, — to which naturally fell the problem of the Northmen; and this came of a lifetime given to experimental research.

Even with these fortuitous advantages, I am free to confess that but for a childhood among the Indians, as the son of a missionary, I should not have had what I regard as one of the chief qualifications for the study of this problem, — the habit of the ear readily to receive Indian utterances. This gave to the phonetic qualities of their language their proper service in the study of the problem. The Northmen might have left traces of their language; but for my exceptional experience, whatever else of qualification for the study I may have had, I should not in all probability have found Norway in Norumbega; or Nerigon, an earlier form of Norway, in Narragan-sett and Norridge-wock; nor the Huitra-manna-land of the Sagas (White-man's-land) in Wapanakke or Wampanakke,¹ — the home of

¹ Wampanakke, Wampanauke, Wabanakki (Rasles); Wapannehki (Cree), — *White-man's-land*, — resolves itself into three Algonquin roots: *wamp*, *an*, and *akke*.

For the first syllable Roger Williams sometimes gives *wompi* for "white" in the Narragansett dialect. In the Cree it is *wap*. In the Lenape of the Delaware it is *woap*. It appears in —

Wampum, — "white beads;" also in *Wompan* (R. G.), — "money" (beads strung on strings for convenience). We have the root in *Wamp-aquit*, — "a white blanket" (a covering), and in *Wamp-inuit*, — "white cloth."

Dencke gives *Woapach-poan*, — "white bread." (Lenape.)

Woapachsun = *Woap-akke-assun*, — "white-land-stone," "chalk."

Womp-ak, — "white bench."

It is recognized in the Mic-Mac, Massachusetts, Narragansett, and Chippewa, the Schawanese, Delaware (Minsi), Cheyenne, Cree, Sauk, and other Algonquin dialects.

The second syllable *an* is an abbreviation from *Leni*, or *Anini*, Delaware for "man." It occurs in combination in the names of many Indian tribes. For *Waban*, *akke*, and *an*, see the Algonquin Lenape Saga "WALUM OLUM," edited by Squier; also by Brinton.

The third syllable, —

Akke, means "land." The spelling varies, — as *akke*, *auke*, *ackey*, *okke*, etc.

the Wampanoags of the Puritan chroniclers (the tribe of King Philip), and the Wapenokis and Wapanoos of the Dutch. Nor should I have found in Wabanakke (White-man's-land) the home of the Abenakis (Wabanakkes). It was in all this region that the explorers under Ayllon (1520), and later Verrazano (1524), found *white people*, of whom, farther north, Jacques Cartier heard in 1534-35, as also Zeisberger the Moravian missionary, and who were called *Schawanaks*.

This early experience with the Indians has enabled me to recognize "Norumbega" in Arambee (see John Rut, 1527, in Purchas), in the Grande Laurent-bee (Grouard's map, original parchment of Brevoort Collection, 1715), the Petit et Grande Lorembec (Vaugondy, 1749), and Laurens, on French maps in my possession,—all which are names successively borne by the same locality, beginning with Arambee, between the site of Louisburg, Cape Breton, and the Island of Seatiari. This locality still bears on either side of the bay, for its headlands, *Big* and *Little Loran*, on some of the recent Admiralty charts of the Island of Cape Breton. The *bee*—the equivalent of *bega*, a "bay"—in Norumbega had been dropped, and the *N* and *u* of *Norum* had been replaced by the dialectic equivalents *L* and *a*. *Norum*—a promontory dividing a *bay*—in Norumbega, as serving in New England names, has, by dropping the *bega* (a bay), become a *cape*, as appears on numerous maps of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. The *no* was the *na* of Trumbull, and of Eliot's Bible,—a *divide*, the *middle*,—having the same root, not improbably, as the English *nose*. On one map there were two gulfs of St. Loran, with a cape between (showing the confusion), looking out from the North Shore of the River of Canada. This name—Loran—not improbably became with Champlain C. St. Loran (1604-1612); with Lescarbot, C. Sainet Laurent (1609); then C. St. Laurens with Champlain (1632). Another and earlier English map (1610) gives for this point the Bay and Cape St. Lawrence (the phonetic French equivalent of Loran); and later, as Charlevoix says, gradually arose the name St. Lawrence, the name now applied to both the river and the gulf.¹

The Naranbergue of Champlain (1612) on the Penobscot is preserved to-day in Nolumbehge (Father Vetromille), as it was preceded by the form of Baya de Loreme on the Sebastian Cabot map of 1544. What Vetromille heard—Nolumbehge—recalls, besides the name preserved by Champlain, that of Norom-

¹ San Lorenzo was earlier (Gomara, 1553); and possibly St. Laurens may have been regarded for a time as a corruption of this form, instead of being in the line of derivatives from the first two syllables of Norumbega.

berghia in the manuscript commission of Henry IV. to Marquis de la Roche, 1598 (parchment rescript signed by Genin, 1606).

The dialectic equivalence in the Algonquin of *l*, *n*, and *r* was pointed out by Roger Williams as early as 1643. To these there seem properly to be added *d* and *t*. (See Earle's "Philology of the English Tongue," Oxford, 1873.)

The habit of prefixing the sound of *m* or *n* to the utterance of *b*,—as in *bih*, "water," which became *m'bih*, and *n'pih* (its dialectic equivalent),—was recognized by Zeisberger, Heckewelder, Dencke, Duponceau, Gallatin, Brinton, and others, and is not peculiar to the Aborigines of New England or of America. The adequate illustration of its application came to me only with the collection of many early maps of the New England coast. It came to me, I may say, in this form, as the fulfilment of an expectation. In *Nero'mbega*, *Noero-mbega*, and *Norombega*, we have, as I had anticipated, the dialectic equivalents of *Norumbega*, *Norbéga*, *Norvega*, *Norvegr*, *Noregr*, which is Old Norse of the early Scandinavian literature for Norway.¹

While without some acquaintance with Indian utterance it may be difficult to see how one could have recognized traces of the Norse in names still preserved in New England, nevertheless, Grotius, Forster, Ortelius, and Professor Beauvois have each suggested the possibility that *Norumbega* was in some way derived from *Norvegia* or *Norway*.

The succession of the forms of the name of which the English is "Norway"

¹ The replacement of *v* with *b* is too familiar to require special illustration. The *Cassava* bread of Antigua of to-day was, earlier, *Cassabi*. *Vulboa* was *Balboa*. The *Cavo* of the Portuguese was the *Cabo* of the Spaniard. Our *silver* is the German *silber*; our *cavalier* is the Spanish *caballero*. *Marcel Head* and *Marble Head* were once interchangeable. On the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries one meets alternately *Norvegia* and *Norbegia* in great frequency. Besides the *Norvega* repeated on separate maps of Solis, and of Botero, 1603, *Norvega* occurs on Bernard Sylvan (Lelewel), 1511, and on Tabula Catalana (1375-1378, Lelewel). Wolgemud and Pleudenwruiff (1493) have *Norweqa*,—replacing the *v* with a *w*. The Zeni have *Norvegia*, 1380, and *Norvegia* is on Ruysch of 1507. *Norvegia* is on Ptolemy, of 1501-1504. Rafn, in the "Antiquitates Americanae," translates the Norse name into Latin *Norvegia*. Larousse says "Norge or Norvege."

They are *not* remote derivatives from the ancient Norse,—*Noregr* and *Norvegr*. Homan, 1730, has *Norvegiar*. The present Norwegian name is *Norge*, which was also the name in the sixth century (see Wedell's Historical Atlas). Careful study, with a regard for philological and dialectic equivalents, will reveal in these early forms the source of all the various modes of spelling leading down to *Norumbega*. These so varied names, it is to be remembered, are not examples of Norse spelling,—a claim mistakenly ascribed to me by some most learned writers,—but the results of efforts by other nationalities to express in letters the pronunciation as they heard or conceived it.



SCOT'S MAP OF THE REGION OF VINELAND AND THE COLONY OF NORVEGA AGAINST MASSACHUSETTS BAY, INCLUDING THE CITY OF NORUMBEGA (NORUMBEGA) IN THE FORTY-THIRD DEGREE. (FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. BREVOORT.)



SOLIS MAP OF NORVEGA IN EUROPE (NORWAY), THE PARENT COUNTRY OF
THE COLONY ON THE CHARLES RIVER. (FROM THE COLLECTION OF
MR. BREVOORT)

(with its derivative Norumbega) is not difficult to trace in the New England names of to-day,—as in Naumbenk (Capt. John Smith), Naumkeag, and Amoskeag (see Colonel Gookin). Especially is this true when we take into account the Norumbega of Hakluyt, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Champlain, and of the maps of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. I have found a large number of early geographical names in New England which carry a Norse root.¹

The familiar forms to-day of the ancient Norvega are,—

Norge, the name on Norwegian maps.

Norrige, the name on Swedish maps.

Norvege, the name on French maps.

Norwegen, the name on German maps.

Norway, the name on English maps.

From earlier and later maps—representing the time from the second century before Christ, down—I have not less than forty forms of the name.

It will be a great, and I am sure a not unwelcome, surprise to my venerable friend to find, as will presently appear, that his own labors have furnished evidence of the presence and the site of the very remains which he deems indispensable to a belief that the valley of the Charles held the early settlements of the Northmen,—“*the stones laid one upon another.*”

Let us now turn to—

THE CITY AND COUNTRY OF NORUMBEGA,

as the theatre of the evidence which Dr. Slafter deems essential to conviction.

The city was uniformly placed on the maps, down to Champlain, in the country called Nova Francia,—the earliest New France.

There seems to have been an early chart designed to illustrate the site of the country described in the Vineland Sagas,—a chart which was repeatedly copied. At the *same point* on three of the copies,—that of Ortelius in 1570, of Solis in 1598, and Botero in 1603,—we have the

¹ Among forms constantly recurring are such as the following: *No, na, noe, nau, nolle, nollum, norri, norum, bega, beck, haug, suk, sac, sag, vik, ak, an, og, kondo, lar, arem, husa, chic, yar, chili, gothe.* With these are many dialectic modifications; but I may not pursue the matter here.

same name with dialectic variations. (See last three of the maps on one sheet, page 32.)

Ortelius has *Norumbega* where Solis has *Noruega*, and Botero *Norvega*. They apply to the same locality. These three names are plainly all forms of *Norway*, — *u*, *v*, *w*, and *b* being interchangeable. Solis's map has the name with the character standing for a city, and also in larger print the same name for a province, and in still larger print the name *Nova Francia*, — which also appears on both the others.

When the natives, on all the coast from Cape Cod to the St. Lawrence, were asked the name of their country or province or people, they answered, "*Nor'mbega*," which became "*Norumbega*" to the inquirer; and as the vowels changed, the word took on other forms of spelling, according to the nationalities of the questioners. Peter Martyr wrote *Arenbi*; Verrazano, *Anorobagra*; Ruscelli, *Nurumberg*;¹ Mercator, *Norombega*; Allefonsce, *Norombergue*; William de Teste, *Anoragua*, — but they were all in *New France*. With the maps of Solis, Ortelius, and Botero, taken in connection with Bancroft's remark that "the French diplomatists always remembered that Boston was within the original limits of New France,"² I have elsewhere intimated that the elements for the solution of the Problem of the Northmen, as presented in the Sagas, might be found.

EXTENT OF THE COUNTRY.

If we take the name as used by Champlain, we have the country stretching over a vast area. Charlevoix, another authority as absolute as Champlain, speaks of Pentagoet (the Penobscot) as running through the midst of Norumbega, "*long known*," he says, "*as a beautiful and powerful Province*." Allefonsce, less known than Champlain for obvious reasons.

¹ This resemblance to *Nuremberg* is not without signification. It seems not improbable, from researches I have made, that the ancient Bavarian town gave the name to *Noricum* of Roman times, conceived to be the district from which Austria arose, and was itself traceable through various dialectic changes to *Noreja* of the second century before Christ (see Wedell's Atlas), — so nearly resembling the *Noregr* of the time of Leif, and not remote from the *Nerigon* of Pliny a thousand years earlier.

² History of the United States, 2d ed., vol. i. p. 24.

but as a pilot enjoying the highest reputation, finds abundant evidence of the extension of Norumbega in southern New England. Thevet found the country in the forty-third degree. John Smith looked for it for many years unsuccessfully, in Virginia. Ramusio's and Parmentier's descriptions of the productions of Norumbega included fruits that are found in the Carolinas and Florida. Allefonsee seemed to have had a suspicion that this ancient country reached to and included the same region, and he looked for it about the latitude of Charleston. In the other direction, the dialectic equivalent of the name is still preserved on the recent Admiralty charts, as already mentioned, on the south side of the island of Cape Breton, between the ancient Louisburg and the island of Scatari. It applied also in Champlain's time to the present Cape North.

This great extent of country was called Norumbega. Admiral De Monts, says the record (Slafter's "Champlain"), sailed *southward* from the region of Frenchman's Bay along the coast of Norumbega. Champlain left the name on his maps—1612-1613—at different points, and in his text it is found altogether some forty times. He heard the name far in the interior as well as along the New England coast.

On page 218 of the second volume (Prince Society's Publications, edited by Dr. Slafter), Champlain has recorded his testimony as to the extent of the country of Norumbega as follows.

While on the lake which bears his name, Champlain was told by the Algonquins—whose cause he had espoused—of their enemies inhabiting the region beyond a lake (Lake George), to reach which it was necessary to pass a fall, which he afterwards visited, "which lake was nine or ten leagues long. Afterward, reaching the end of the lake, we should have to go," they said, "two leagues by land, and then pass through a river flowing into the sea, on the coast of Norumbega, near that of Florida,¹ whither it took them only two days to go by canoe, as I

¹ This may have been the Florida of Verrazano,—the region of Cape Cod; or possibly Champlain might have given greater extent to Norumbega, or to Florida, as was given by Allefonsee, Ramusio, and others.

have since ascertained from some prisoners we captured, who gave me *minute information* in regard to all they had personal knowledge of, through some Algonquin interpreters who understood the Iroquois language."

It is quite obvious that Champlain, in common with the learned men of the sixteenth century generally, believed in the existence of Norumbega as a country. That he has unwittingly crowned the demonstration that there was a city of Norumbega as well, we shall see later. That he should have stricken every trace of the name from his map of 1632, we shall also see was in keeping with his having failed to find remains of the city on the Penobscot, and of his having implicitly accepted the superficial reports of the Charles, and of its mistaken duplicate Rio du Gas, made by the men sent to explore the region,—if, indeed, he himself were not personally of the exploring party. (See Purchas, 1613, cited further on.)

DR. PARKMAN.

Of my critical friends who doubt the presence of Norsemen and of Norumbega—city or country—in the neighborhood of the Charles, and think it only probable that the Norsemen came to America at all, Dr. Francis Parkman has given the following reasons why he does not accept my general conclusions. He says:—

*"I think it is probable that the Norsemen came to America, but I do not consider the evidence to that effect which has been brought forward sufficient for proof. The most definite statement ever [?] made about Norumbega was the report of Champlain, who supposed that if Norumbega existed at all, it must have been up the Penobscot, not far from the site of Bangor. Champlain's maps of the eastern coast were the first really accurate ones that were made. Thetvet was credulous, addicted to exaggeration, and was fond of relating marvellous things. The statements of Ingram are of a vague and uncertain character; his story is a doubtful one. Little is known of Allefonsee."*¹

¹ I had cited as authorities Allefonsee, Thetvet, and Ingram.

It is true, nevertheless, as will appear, that these authorities are of significance. It will be later seen that they are not indispensable. Ingram was here in 1569; Thevet in 1556; Allefonsce in 1542.

THE SAILOR, DAVID INGRAM.

David Ingram was a sailor. He was set ashore by Sir John Hawkins, with more than a hundred others, in stress for want of provisions, at Tampico on the Gulf of Mexico, 1568, and wandered all the way across the country, seeing and hearing of many marvellous things by the way, — coming at length in 1569 to Norumbega, which he says was sixty leagues (miles probably intended) from Cape Breton (Cape Ann). Here he found a city three quarters of a mile long. From this city, soon after his arrival, he went to the Bay of St. Mary's (one of the early names of Boston Harbor), where he found a French ship, in which he sailed for France, and ultimately reached England. It is recorded of him that he again met and was recognized and kindly received by Sir John Hawkins, and that he was called in council, as Thevet was, by Dr. John Dee, to advise in the interest of the ill-fated Sir Humphrey Gilbert about an expedition to Norumbega. Though illiterate, and to some extent credulous, Ingram seems to have commanded the confidence of those who met and conversed with him after his return to England. That his statements about Norumbega on the Charles were truthful, will, later in this paper, be accepted by the unprejudiced reader without hesitation.

ANDREW THEVET.

Andrew Thevet was an early explorer and discoverer. In his time the New World was filled with marvels to the men of enterprise in the old. He wrote much, and, like many discoverers of his time, incorporated in his writings, with his own relations, those of what others had seen or reported that they had seen. He acknowledges it frankly. His observation of a comet (one of the marvels, which he calls a star with a tail), with the date and position, I have tested by appeal to the records of

and original New France of Terrazano, all south of the Cape Breton of Allefonsce in the 43° 2' north of the Terra Florida of Terrazano, (over Cape Cod)

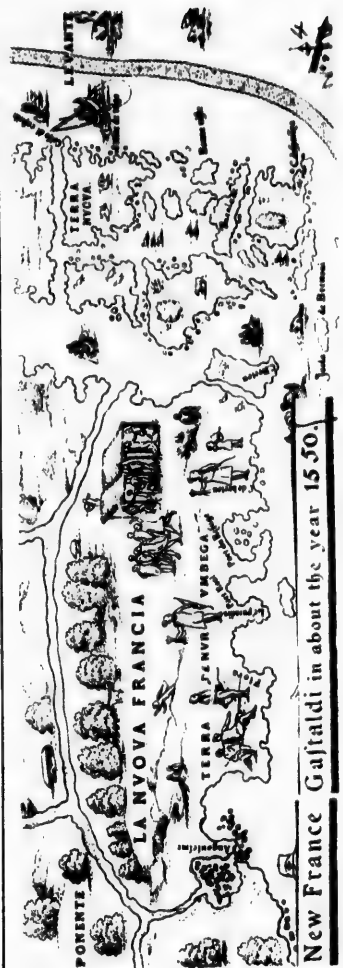


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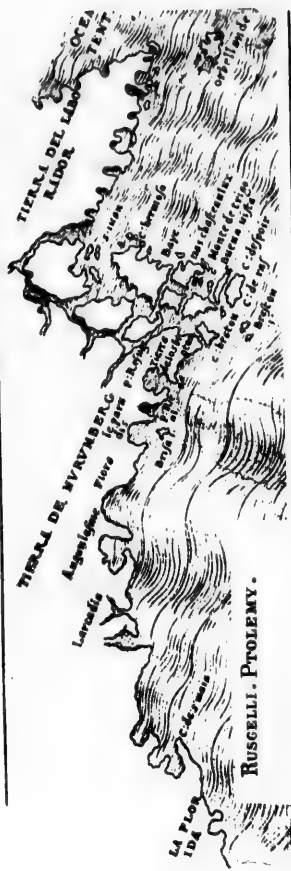
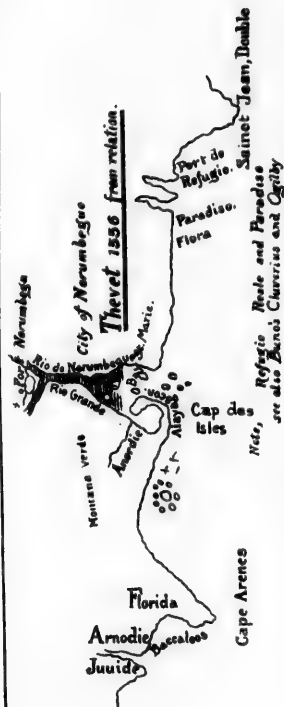
FRANCESCA.

CONFERENCE





New France Gastaldi in about the year 1550.





astronomy, through the astronomers at the Observatories of Harvard and Cordoba. He was many days in a vast and thick field of marine vegetation that obstructed the progress of his ship (another marvel, for he had not heard of the Sargasso Sea); when he had crossed it, he sailed away to Cabo de Baxos.¹ It is certain that no early writer has given such accurate accounts of the region from Narragansett Bay to, and including, Cape Ann. Professor Ganong, than whom on this question of trustworthiness no one is more competent from research in this field to give opinion, says Thevet is "certainly truthful." He is charged with being credulous. So was Pliny; but what a magnificent defence of his great accomplishments and services Cuvier has left us! Shall I take exception to the estimate of Champlain because his map of the coast of New England, instead of being, as is claimed, the *first really accurate one*, is grotesque in its duplication and misplacement of points, and because it fails to recognize some of the most important features of the coast along which he sailed at least four times, and because there is a want of conformity between his text and his maps? Instead of depreciating his work, I marvel at his having made so excellent and generally accurate a map. His finding two *Chouacoets* (Cohasset),—they were only descriptive names applicable alike to two localities,—was what led to most of his errors. That he has twice given (map of 1612) the site of Norumbega, on two presentations of the Charles, is evidence that two exploring parties were sent out,—or perhaps only that two reports were received.

In Dr. Parkman's estimate of the trustworthiness of Thevet as applied to what he has said of Norumbega he has the support of many distinguished men; among them are Professor Shaler, the late Mr. George Dexter, Rev. Dr. De Costa, Jean de Lery, the late Mr. Brevoort, Pro-

¹ Cabo de Baxos, the cape of the *very little* bay of Provincetown Harbor, is Algonquin. Bacca-es-es (Baxos) is one of the recesses of the bay of Cape Cod; Bacca-es (Baxe) is the lesser bay—Cape Cod Bay—as compared with the greater Massachusetts Bay. *Es* is the Algonquin diminutive; *es-es* is a form of emphasis. The *z* arose as in Pau-tuck-es-et = Pautuxet (Trumbull). Bacca-es = Baxe. Bacca-es-es = Bax es = Baxos.

fessor Gaffarel, and others.¹ My critical friends simply did not have the necessary material for adequate investigation.

I have intimated that Thevet did not stand alone in maintaining that Norumbega was in the forty-third degree, against the opinion held by some in his time that Norumbega was in the latitude of Canada in some fifty-six degrees. He mentions certain well-known points on the coast of Norumbega. They are between the Cape Saint Jean (Double) of Thevet, our Cape Ann, and—as he calls it—Aiayascon (Iroquois for *arm*), our Nantasket (or *Nana-tasket*), which has the shape of a bent human arm; and Thevet gives the exact latitude of Nantasket Roads, observed and recorded by himself, as $42^{\circ} 14'$. Of some of these points he gives the names. They are Porto de Refugio, Paradiso, and Flora. Some cartographers add Porto Reale. Ogilby and Buno's Cluverius both mention them as on the coast of Norumbega, but they have not left us maps. I introduce other authorities in a series of maps, which besides Thevet's, prepared from his Relation in the Cosmography (edition of 1575), includes Ruscelli (two phases), Gastaldi (from Ramusio), Ulpius's Globe, Hieronymus Verrazano, and Maiollo. The support they lend to Professor Ganong's statement that "*Thevet was certainly truthful*," is obvious.

Of his explorations from *Cap Juude* (Point Judy of modern times), around Baccalaos (the Cabeljau² of the Dutch) to Cape Ann, which he calls Cape Saint Jean (the Cape Johann of Lok, and the Cape Jehan of

¹ In the Preface to the *Singularitez de la France Antarctique* Professor Gaffarel has given a thoughtful estimate of Thevet's character, as well as a summary of the criticisms by his enemies, and by those who could not accept as true what he said of many of the wonders of the New World. In the summary Professor Gaffarel points out the imperfect early education of Thevet, his passion for learning, his foibles, his vanity; but it all fails entirely to affect the accuracy of his geographical portrait of the coast from Point Judy, the western promontory at the mouth of Narragansett Bay, around Cape Cod, past Cohasset into Boston Harbor, and up the Charles as high as the mouth of Stony Brook; and northeastward along the Beverly shore and around Cape Ann, with its two salients. This portrait I have tested. It is absolutely beyond the reach of any one's adverse criticism on the point of truthfulness. Consider only the latitude of Nantasket Roads!

² Baccaloo = Baccalieu; by metathesis, Cabeljau (Dutch) or Kabeljau (German).

L I

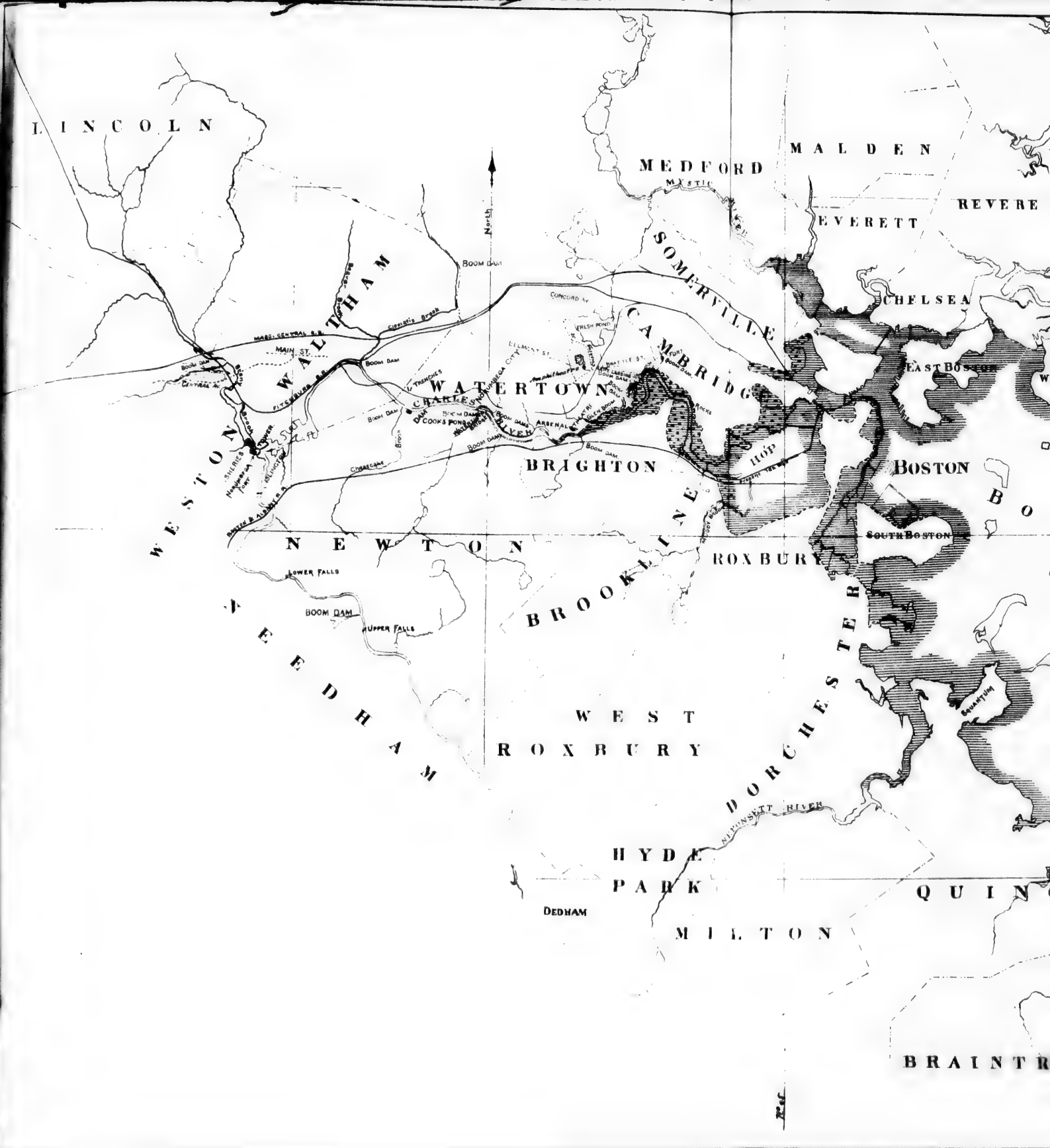
"RIVER FLOWING THROUGH A LAKE
INTO THE SEA"
VINLAND OF THE NORTHMEN

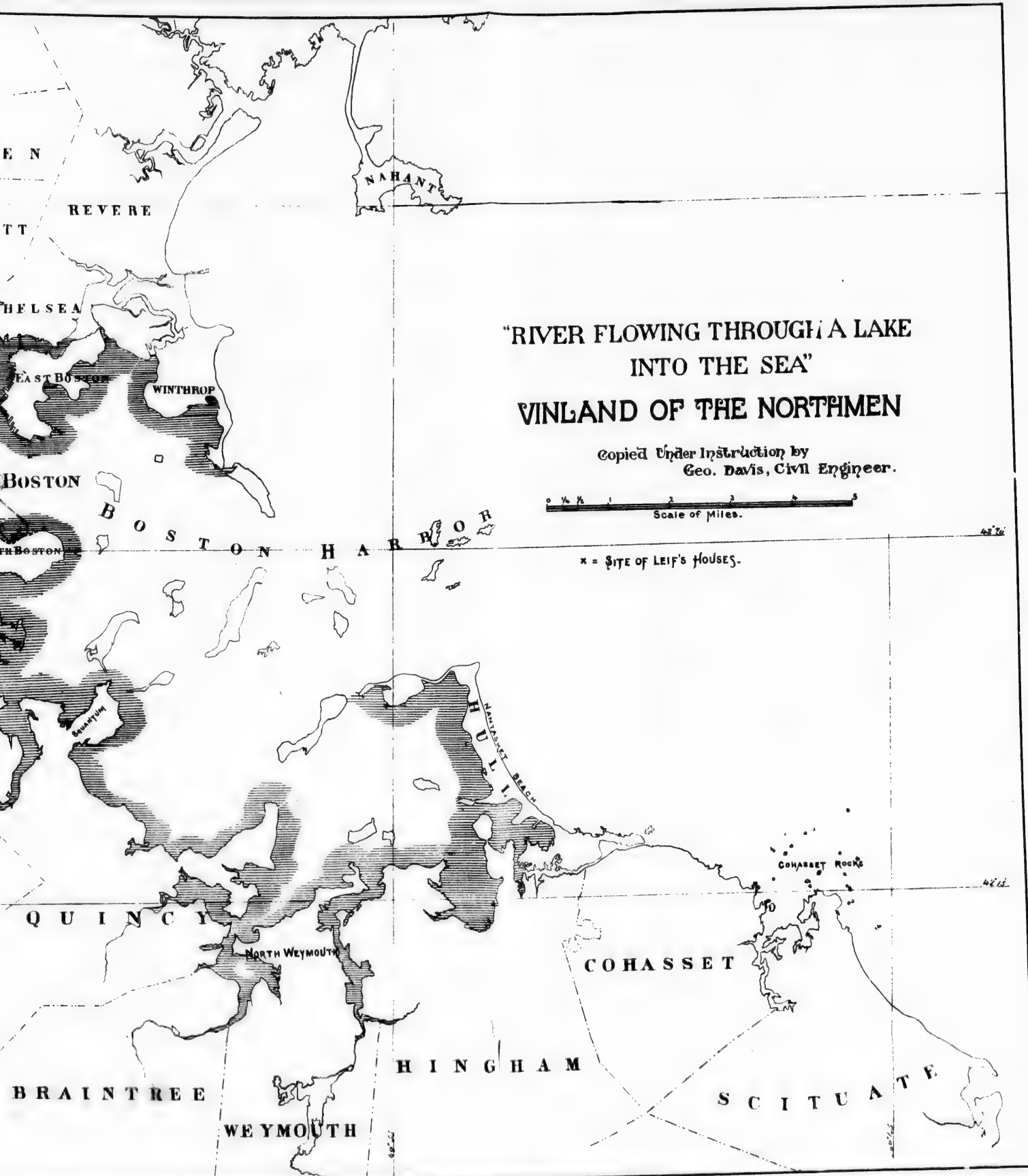
Copied Under Instruction by
Geo. Davis, Civil Engineer.



x = SITE OF LEIF'S HOUSES.

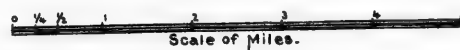
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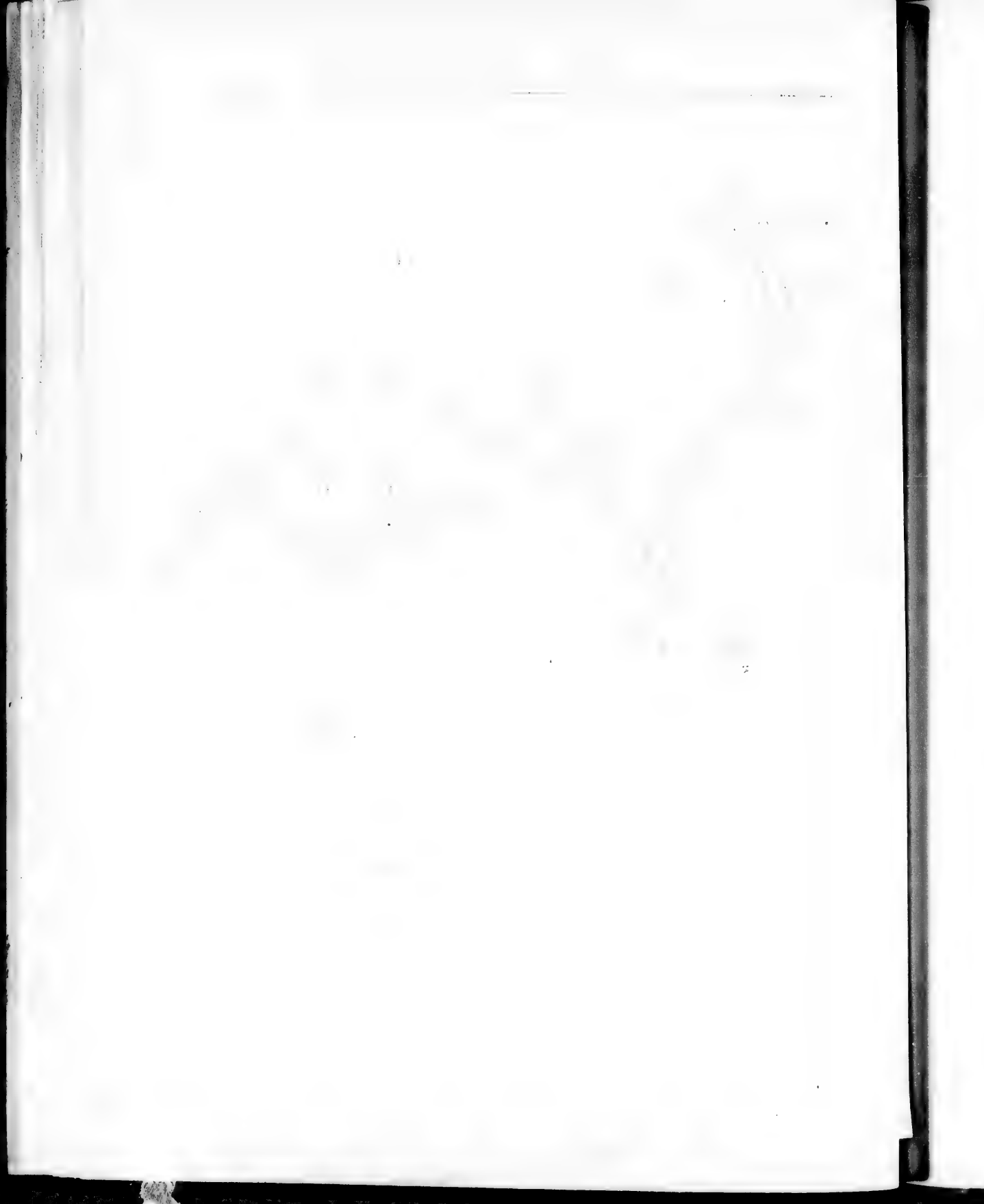


"RIVER FLOWING THROUGH A LAKE
INTO THE SEA"
VINLAND OF THE NORTHMEN

Copied Under Instruction by
Geo. Davis, Civil Engineer.



x = SITE OF LEIF'S HOUSES.



Allefonsce and many others, as will be seen), Thevet has given a most detailed account. The latitude of the entrance to the Charles was observed with wonderful precision, and recorded in his "Cosmography." The more crucial test of his record of what was in the forty-second and forty-third degrees will be seen on comparing it with that of the foregoing sheets of charts of photographic fac-similes, which I have prepared.

There is another consideration,—Thevet is not a new witness. He has been *proved*. He said¹ that on a river called Norumbegue (also Rio Grande), in the forty-third degree, at a distance of some ten or twelve leagues from its mouth, there was a fort, surrounded by a ditch supplied with water from a stream entering the river at this point. I went to the place described, and found, six years ago, the remains of the ancient fort and ditch. I also found the arm-shaped Nantasket, with its Iroquois name Aiayascon, and the Cape of the Islands,—Cohasset,—as described by him, and familiar to us all; and more recently I discovered the city as indicated in Thevet's text and on his map. It was Thevet who gave, as already mentioned, the latitude of the mouth of the river Norumbegue (Nantasket Roads) substantially coincident with that of the Coast Survey,—42° 18'.

JEAN ALLEFONSCE.

Jean Allefonsce had sailed for many years in almost every ocean, and was renowned as a most skilful pilot. He was a reserved, profoundly conscientious man; gave in his writings instructions for the use of astronomical instruments; was chosen by the King of France to be the pilot of Roberval, who led an exploring expedition to our coast in 1542, and superseded the wise, patient, and gallant Jacques Cartier;²—the great

¹ See John Cabot's "Landfall," 1497, and the "Site of Norumbega," 1885. *Cosmographie*, 1575.

² See Margry, at length. Dr. Kohl says: "Roberval, sent on a voyage of discovery to north-eastern America by the French Government," Francis I. "sent also one of his mariners, a very expert pilot, named Alphonse de Saintonge, to search for a northwest passage north of Newfound-

captain, who much as he added of discovery along the Saint Lawrence, had failed to accomplish one of the chief objects of his expeditions, to find the passage through to the Indies. It was while seeking this passage under Roberval, that Allefonsce found his vessel of too deep draught to ascend the Gulf of Barnstable at the bottom of Cape Cod Bay, in the forty-second degree,¹ which bay he conjectured might lead through to the Western Ocean; and it was to the pursuit of this phantom,—born of Columbus, and the passion of the century and a half following,—that we owe Allefonsce's record of the Massachusetts coast. He placed the river and the city of Norumbegue, as his record shows, between $42^{\circ} 6'$ and $42^{\circ} 38'$,—within a breadth of only *thirty-two minutes* of a degree.

WAS THERE A CITY OF NORUMBEGA?

Before further proceeding to vindicate the authorities discredited by Dr. Parkman, let us pause to glance for a moment at one branch of the evidence of the existence of a city of Norumbega which is furnished in the ancient cartography of the New England coast. Here (p. 32) are maps from Peter Martyr (resting on the pilot Miruelo, 1520) down to the maps at the end of the sixteenth century, which connect *Norumbega* with a province of Norway, with the region of Vinland, with the sovereignty of France, with the neighborhood of Boston! Many of these maps bear against the name a special mark indicating the site of the city of Norumbega.

land. Jean Alphonse de Saintonge was a very distinguished French captain, who formerly had travelled to Brazil, in French as well as Portuguese sailing-vessels. Hakluyt [vol. iii. p. 237 *seq.*] communicates excellent sailing directions for the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, made by this navigator [Alphonse de Saintonge].” Kohl further refers to Alphonse thus: “See more of him in a note of M. D’Avezac, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, p. 317 *seq.*, Année 1857.”

Margry, in “*Navigations Françaises*,” drew attention to the passage (also given by Hakluyt) in which he distinctly avers that he had entered a bay in lat. 42° . (Brevoort's Verrazano, p. 154.) This was the Bay at Barnstable, which Alphonse suggested should be explored with a smaller vessel, as leading possibly through to the Pacific,—a northwest passage.

¹ My attention was first drawn to this point by the late J. Carson Brevoort.

LIST OF MAPS

showing the site of Norumbega and its concomitant geographical features and their succession, in answer to the question, —

WAS THERE A CITY OF NORUMBEGA IN THE FORTY-THIRD DEGREE?

Arembi of Peter Martyr, — Arambe of Meruilo, 1520.

Norumberga — ascribed to Mercator — has the character indicating a city.

Norombega (Wytfliet), — city.

Anorabagra, Dauphin map (Deseeliers), 1546, — archipelago, river, and turreted gateway, which with the name Anorabagra point to the city.

Norombergue, Allefonce, 1543, — river and (by relation) city, in forty-third degree.

Norombega, Mercator (Jomard, 1569), — fort and city.

Norumbega, Thevet (from relation in Cosmography), 1575, — fort and city. Nantasket Roads in latitude $42^{\circ} 14'$, observed by Thevet.

Norimbega, Thevet Cosmography (1575, an obviously imperfect copy of Mercator, 1569), — fort and city.

Norombega, Lok, 1582. No cipher, but name against the locality.

Norombega, John Dee, 1580, — fort, river Gammas (Gomez).

Norambega, Judaeis, — river called R. Grande, or Gammas. At entrance to bay is C. de St. Maria (1593).

Norumbega, Plancie, 1594, — city and Province in Nova Francia.

Norumbega, Molyneux Globe, 1592, — site of city on Rio Grande in Nova Francia.

Norombega, De Bry, 1596, — fort in Nova Francia at junction of two streams.

Norumbega, Wytfliet, 1597, — fort on Rio Grande and province of Norumbega in Novae Franciae Pars, with Cape de las Islas, at mouth of river.

I have numerous other maps pointing to the site of the city, under various modifications of the name.

Noruega, Solis, 1598, — city in Noeva Francia, with Norvega and Suedia on the European portion of the map. (See map, page 23.)

This map and the three following couple the Norumbega of Nova Francia (New France) with the Norway of Europe. The three later are obvious copies of a common original based on the Saga story of the early Norse voyages and the recognition of the locality of Vineland.

Norumbega, Ortelius, 1570, — site of city in Nova Francia.

Noruega, Solis, 1598, — city on the Rio Grande, in the province of NORVEGA, subordinate to the NOVA FRANCIA of Verrazano, — "a river flowing from the land through a lake to the sea." (Vineland Sagas.)

Norvega, Botero, 1603, — site of city in Nova Francia.

On all the last preceding five maps the city of Norumbega is against the Island Claudia.

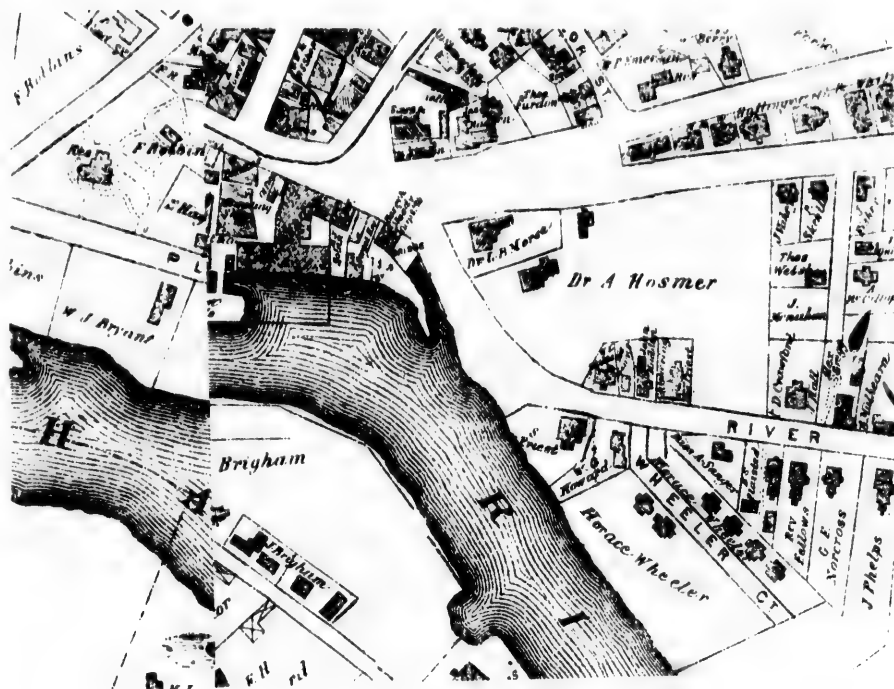
Sometimes we have both the name and the mark, or cipher, indicating a city. The cipher is sometimes omitted. In Thevet (1556) and Mercator (1569) the name Norumbega is at the junction of two streams, where I found the fort, and also lower down the river, with the device of the city at the latter point only. On Wytfliet the city is placed at the junction of the two streams. In some cases the name of Norumbega as a country is given. In a few cases it is marked as a river as well as a city. In most cases the name refers to a city on the left bank of a river, called Rio Grande as well as Norumbega. At the bottom of the sheet is the map of Solis (1598) and the copies of the same original by Ortelius and Botero, which connect Vineland with New France and the Charles. A second sheet of maps to be later presented will carry forward the evidences of an ancient city of Norumbega at Watertown, down to the date of its recent discovery.

Lescarbot, 1610; Douay, 1607; and Wytfliet (*Augmentum Ptolomacæi*), 1597,—all alike carry the statement that "*to the north of Virginia is Norumbega, which is well known as a beautiful city and a great river,*" which in most particulars had before in substance been related by Allefonsce, Thevet, and Ingram.

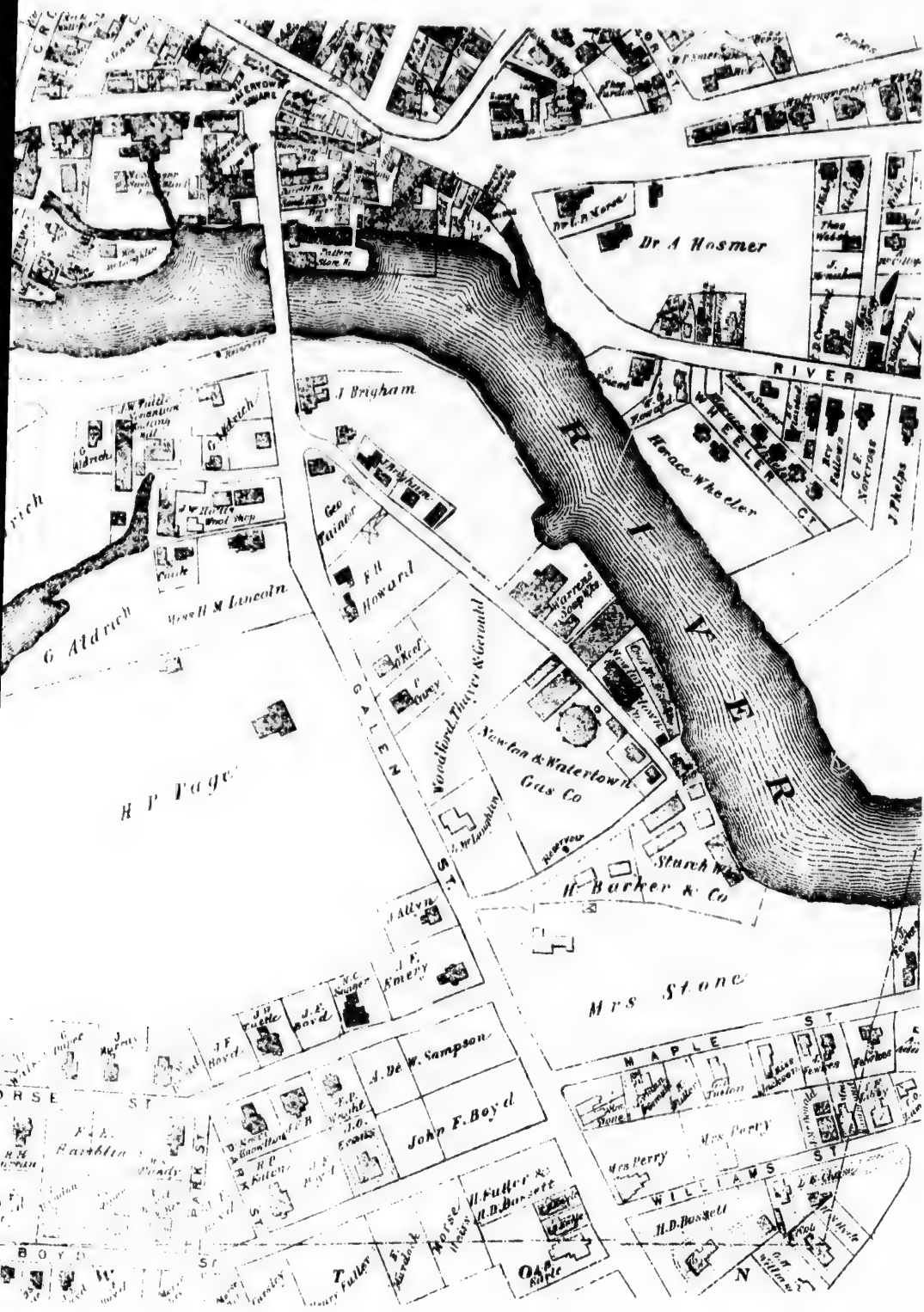
THE EARLIEST NORUMBEGA ON THIS SERIES OF MAPS.

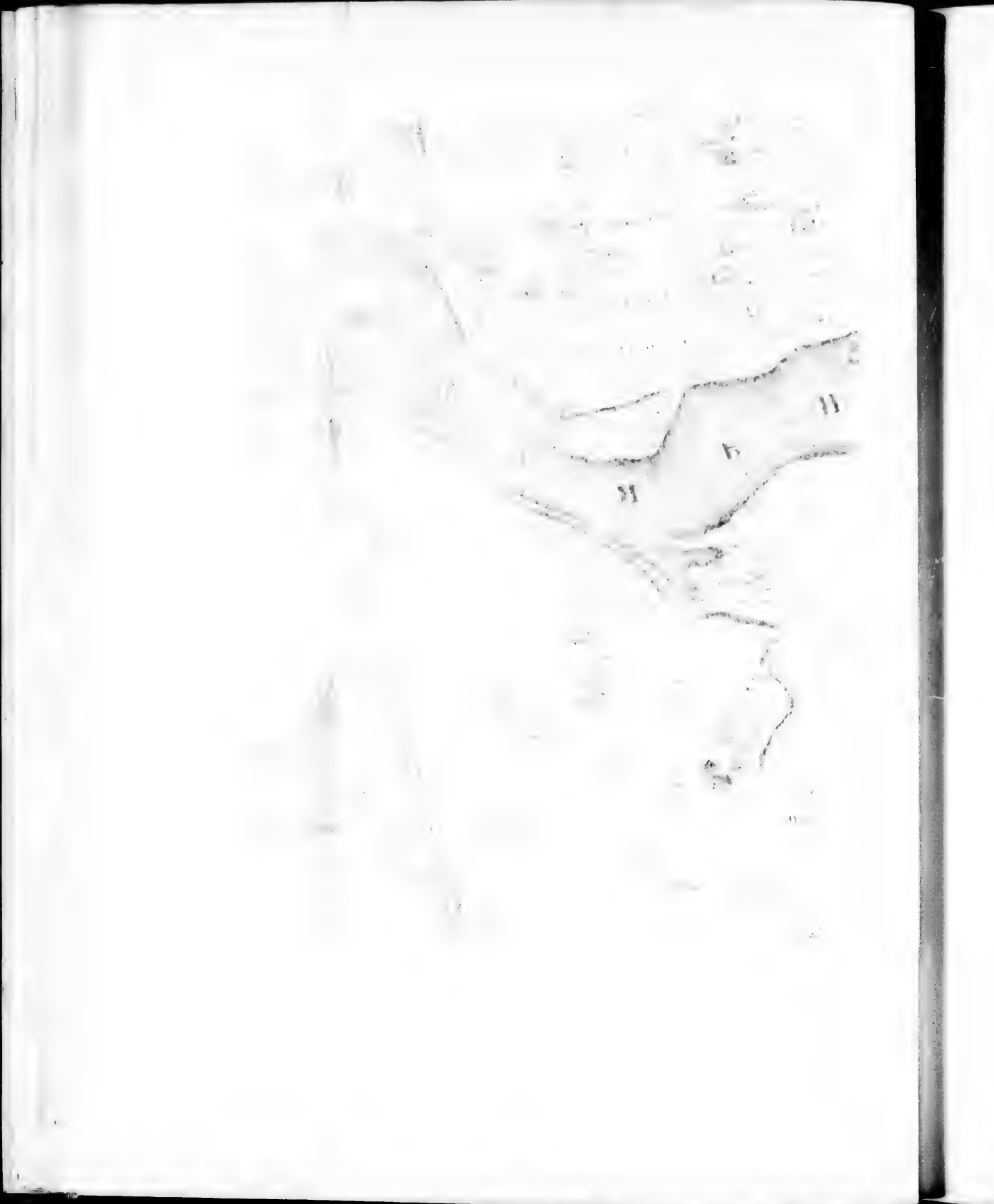
Among the provinces over which Ayllon was made Adelantado (governor), with a charter contemplating possessions extending eight hundred leagues northward, and with which the pilot Miruelo had become acquainted on an expedition of discovery northward from the Bahamas in 1520, was Arambe. The name on the map of Peter Martyr, annotated by Hakluyt (1537), is Arembi. It is given to a locality represented on the copy of Peter Martyr's map of 1534, in the Lenox Library. It is on the *Rio Gamás*, — *Stevá gomes* (Gomez).¹ Rio Gamás is one of the names of the Charles. Terra de Ayllon — mainly the territory of New England — is shown on Ribero's map (1529). It lies to the north of Cape Cod, and holds Arembi. Associated with this name in the list of provinces or regions over which Ayllon was to rule were many other

¹ It seems not impossible that the coast of New England was visited by Agramonte, commissioned by Ferdinand and Queen Juana of Castile under the guidance of Breton pilots, as early as 1511. But the record, if one was made, has not been identified. See Brevoort's Verrazano, p. 69.









names, some of which seem but dialectic modifications of Indian names still preserved on the New England coast. Peter Martyr conceived this region to join to Baccalaos, which at the date of his writing, as shown on Ribero's map, lay between New France and Labrador (then Nova Scotia). See Peter Martyr's "Decades," VII. chap. ii., and Navarette's "Collection of Voyages and Discoveries," Vol. III. p. 69-74; also Herrera's "Decades," Book viii.

I add a full list, italicizing the names which I believe to be still preserved:—

Sauche, *Chicora*, Xapira, Tataneal, *Anicatiye*, Cocayo, Guacayo, Xoxi, Sona, *Pasque*, *Arambe*, *Xamunambe*, *Huag*, Tanzaea, Yenyohol, Paor, Tammiscaron, Carixaquisignamin, and Anexa. Besides these there are mentioned *Duhare*, "on the opposite side of a bay from Chicora," and Guadalupe, Xapeda, Hitha, *Xamunambe*, *Tihe*, Guacaia, *Quohathe*, Tanzaea, and Pahor.

I add also a list of certain of the Spanish names with what seem to me to be corresponding Indian names. The differences between these and the equivalent Spanish are not greater than between the names given to the same locality in the dialects of neighboring tribes. For example:—

SPANISH.	ALGONQUIN.	
Sauche	Saco	Maine
Chicora	Chicorua	Maine
Anicatiye	Naticotec,	
	Now called Anticosti	Gulf of St. Lawrence.
Pasqui	Pasque	Mouth of Buzzard's Bay.
Arambe	Norumbega, on the R.	
	Gamas (Gomez), the	
	Charles	Massachusetts.
Xamunambe		
Some compound, of which		
Arambe—that is, Norumbega—formed a part.		
Huag	Quoag	Long Island [N. Y.] South Shore.
Duhare	Du Haute (?)	See John Smith's map off the mouth of the Penobscot.
Quohathe	Cohasset	Massachusetts Bay.

Without now going into detail, one may ask, Were these map-makers and historiographers, representing different and sometimes rival nationalities, united for seventy years in a conspiracy to impose on their sovereigns, the world of geography, and themselves? Is such a conspiracy conceivable?

If there could not have been such a conspiracy, there *must* have been a city of Norumbega. It will be seen that it could only have been on the Charles.

THE SIGNIFICATION OF THE LATITUDES.

Dr. Parkman discredits Allefonsce and Thevet, but credits Champlain with having made the first correct map of the New England coast.

Let us see *how much this involves*. These three navigators — Allefonsce, Thevet, and Champlain — alike place the shores of a great bay in the forty-third degree, where the Coast Survey places Massachusetts Bay; that is, they place Cape Ann and Cape Cod and the region between, which includes the mouth of Charles River, — all three, — in the forty-third degree.

Let us carefully consider these three points. The 42d degree reaches to within a few minutes of the summit of the peninsula of Cape Cod. Cape Ann, the more northern salient of the bay, is in $42^{\circ} 38'$. The mouth of Charles River at Nantasket is, according to Thevet, in $42^{\circ} 14' +$. Boston, according to the Coast Survey, is in $42^{\circ} 21'.$ ¹ See how narrow the belt is, what is in it, and what authorities are united on its latitude!

Within the compass of less than forty miles in the forty-third degree are the three points, — Cape Ann, the mouth of Charles River, and Cape Cod, — in which the Coast Survey, Champlain, Thevet, and Allefonsce *all* are agreed!

Within the same limits of latitude, I hold, was the ancient city of Norumbega. The proofs are manifold, but let us take a single one, resting primarily on Allefonsce.

¹ Strictly speaking, the State House is in $42^{\circ} 21' 27''.6$.

² Purchas (1613) places Norumbega between the Kennebec and Cape Cod; Ogilby (1671) places it in the region of the forty-third degree. Nantasket and Cohasset are on the maps of Winthrop, Champlain, Lescarbot, and the Coast Survey. Under other names the same points are indicated on many other maps.

IDENTITY OF CAPE ANN WITH THE SOUTHERN CAPE BRETON OF
ALLEFONSEE IN THE FORTY-THIRD DEGREE.

Aside from the irresistible logic of the latitude of the mouth of the Charles, observed and recorded by Thevet, it has already been hinted¹ that the arch upon which confident conviction may rest contains, for one of its elements, Allefonsee's identification of Cape Ann with a certain ancient cape called Cape Breton. Allefonsee was the first to make absolutely clear that there were *two Cape Bretons*, somewhat less than eighty leagues apart, one of which was in the forty-third degree, and is no longer known by that name, but as Cape Ann. The other Cape Breton was the one with which we are all familiar as the island in forty-five to forty-eight degrees, separated from Newfoundland by a considerable strait leading from the Atlantic into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, — now called Cabot Straits on the Admiralty Chart, following the suggestion of Mr. Brevoort, — and from the continent, by the Gut of Canso.

In Allefonsee's time there was what was called the Sea of Canada (*Mer du Canada*), which included the waters west of Newfoundland; and there was another and greater sea to the south and east, called *la Mer Oceane*. This is so stated in Allefonsee's manuscripts, obtained from the archives of the Bibliothèque Nationale, of which I have before me a photographic absolute fac-simile. He thus presents in the French of his time the great fact of the *two Cape Bretons*. Allefonsee says: —

"Retournant au Cap de Ratz, qui est en la Mer Oceane . . . je ditz que ce Cap Ratz et le Cap de Breton et plus de ports en la Mer Oceane, qui est une isle appellé aussi St. Jehan, sur l'est-nord-est et ouest-sud-ouest. [sic] Il y a en la route quatre vingt lieues. Le dit Cap Breton de la Mer Oceane est par quarantè deux degrés hauteur de polle Artique."

This passage is preceded by the mention of the Isle Oiseaux, Isle Brion, and St. Miguel, as in the *Mer du Canada*, in latitude about 46°-48°.

¹ See my communication on the "Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega."

Many of these places still bear the names they bore in the middle of the sixteenth century. The St. John of that time and latitude, however, became Prince Edward's Island. One side of the island of Cape Breton faces the Gulf of St. Lawrence (the Mer du Canada): the other side looks out on the Mer Océane.¹

In the sea of Canada is the island of St. John, on Sebastian Cabot's map. In the same sea was another Cape Ratz (our Cape Raye, on the west coast of Newfoundland, across the Cabot Straits of the recent Admiralty charts and northeast of Cape North, the earlier Cape Lorain). Besides this was the other Cape Raye (also called Cape Ratz by Allefonsee) at the southeastern extremity of Newfoundland (our Cape Race), which was in the Mer Océane. Besides this island of St. John, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, there was that in the forty-third degree referred to by Allefonsee.²

There are two inscriptions referring to the Landfall of John Cabot in 1497, on the map of 1544. — "*Prima vista*," and "*Prima terra vista*."

In my paper on the Landfall of John Cabot, 1885, I suggested that the land first seen might have been Mt. Agamemneus, somewhat inland and to the northwest of Cape Ann. A friend—Rev. Dr. Thomas Hill, formerly President of Harvard University—has calculated the horizon from the summit of the mountain, with its known height and latitude,

¹ On some of my maps the Mer du Canada embraces Newfoundland, and extends to the southward even beyond the latitude of Cape Sable.

² This little island, St. John, is referred to in the following paragraph from Hakluyt. One of the legends on the Cabot map ("Adams" copy of 1884, as translated by Hakluyt and cited by the late Dr. Charles Deane (Winsor, vol. iii, p. 45) reads:—

"In the year of our Lord 1494, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian (with an English fleet sent out from Bristol), discovered that land which no man before that had attempted, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock of the early morning. This land he called Prima Vista, — that is to say First Seen, — because, as I suppose, it was that part whereof they had the first sight from the sea. That island which lyeth out before the land he called the island of St. John, upon this occasion, as I think, because it was discovered upon the day of St. John the Baptist."

Dr. Deane remarks that the passage in parentheses is not in the original, but was introduced by Hakluyt.

and finds that it might have been seen earlier than Cape Ann, from a vessel coming in from sea. The island of St. John of the forty-third degree must, then, have later come into view. It was the island east of the Annisquam River,—the canal St. Julian (Johan) of Gomez,—outside of which island of St. John are the Three Turks' Heads of John Smith (the small islands near the shore of St. John's),—Strait's Mouth, Thatcher's, and Milk islands. See Bollero's map, 1554, having Canal. S. Juan.¹

The St. John of Sebastian Cabot's map of 1544 seems to have been recognized by Allefonsee as a name applied to an island in the southwestern part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The island of St. John, of John Cabot,—his Landfall on his birthday, June 24, 1497,—was separated from the mainland by the Annisquam River, which was the original Gut of Canoo, as I pointed out in 1885, in my "Landfall of Cabot." The cluster of islands north on Sebastian Cabot's map (1544), on the Dauphin (Desceliers, 1546), Gastaldi, Ruscelli, Solis, Merriam, and a crowd of other maps, are the islands of the Maine coast, south of Frenchman's Bay. *The Penobscot is confounded with the St. Lawrence.* But it is impossible to stop here to consider the matter of the confusion between the two new-found-lands, which I have discussed at length in connection with the map of Sebastian Cabot, in a paper nearly ready for the press. These hints are, however, sufficient to enable the student to clear away the mists with which the subject has been enveloped.

The name St. John, though applied first and limited to the island east of the Annisquam River and Bay, includes on some maps the mainland for a considerable distance,—as we see on Cosa, Gastaldi, and Ruscelli. It was the prevailing notion down to the time of Allefonsee,—indeed, down to that of Ramusio,—that the whole region was made up of islands. Verazano's maps have only recently been brought to light. Ribero's map, 1529, also seems not to have been seen either by Allefonsee or Ramusio.

¹ This channel is indicated on the map of Capt. Cyprian Southack, from surveys made before 1694. (Photographed for me by the United States Coast Survey Office.)

WHAT ALLEFONSCE SAID.

The passage already cited from Allefonsee may be translated thus:—

"*Returning to Cape Ratz, which is on the open sea [our Cape Race at the southeast corner of Newfoundland], I say that the Cape Ratz [on the one hand] and the Cape of Breton and other ports in the open sea, which is also called Jehan [on the other], along the east-northeast and west-southwest [are] on the course eighty leagues.¹ The said Cape Breton of the open sea [our Cape Ann] is through [that is, next to and above] forty-two degrees of north latitude.*"

Later occurs the following:—

"*Turning to the island of St. Jehan, which is called the Cape de Breton [Cape Ann], and the many ports in the Mer Occane, which is above thirty-nine degrees of the height of the North Pole [the region from the Delaware to Cape Cod], I say that the Cape Sâinet Jehan, called Cape de Breton and the Cap de la Franciscane are northeast and southwest, and trending a quarter from east to west, there are on the route a hundred and forty leagues, and there make a Cape called Cape de Norombegue.*"

The Cape de la Franciscane is on Allefonsee's pen-made chart at the summit of Cape Cod; the Cape Norombegue in his text seems to be applied to the whole peninsula of Cape Cod and Long Island, and extends, perhaps, to the entrance to Delaware Bay.

Allefonsee continues:—

"The said Cape is in about forty-one degrees of latitude.² The coast is throughout sandy and low, with no mountains, and along the coast there are many islands of sand, and a coast dangerous from banks and rocks [from Barnegat to Cohasset rocks]. . . . Beyond [that is, to the north of] the Cap de Norombegue [called on his map, at the summit of the Cape, Cap de la Franciscane] descends the river called Norombegue, about twenty-five leagues from the Cape. The said river is large; it is in more than [that is, in higher latitude, than] forty degrees of latitude, and maintains its largeness some thirty or forty leagues, and is salt [Alle-

¹ It is mentioned that the leagues were French leagues, about 2.42 English miles.

² From the quotation it appears that Allefonsee conceived the country of Norombegue to extend even farther than Delaware Bay. The language is somewhat confused, and seems to indicate possible extension as far at least as Charleston, South Carolina.

fonsce says he was so told, — *selon le dict des gens de la ville*], and is all full of Isles, which extend some ten or twelve leagues into the sea¹ [the Brewsters, the Graves, the Roaring Bull, the Lizard, etc.], and it is dangerous from rocks and swashings. . . . The said river is beyond forty-one degrees of latitude. Within the said river fifteen leagues there is a city which is called Norombegue, and there is in it a fine people, and they have quantities of skins of all animals. The people wear cloaks of marten skins. . . . The land of Norombegue is high and good."

Allefonsce makes the coast southward from Cape de la Franciscane (Cap Norombegue, — the Peninsula of Cape Cod) including Long Island and the Jersey coast to Delaware Bay, low and sandy. He makes the entrance to the river Norombegue (between Nahant and Cohasset) full of islands and rocks, and for these reasons, with its tides, currents, and the winds, difficult of navigation.

Allefonsce's description makes identification easy to one familiar with maps of the Coast Survey of the region from 39° to 45°.

THE WEIGHT OF THE AUTHORITY.

I have said Allefonsce has never been doubted. He was distinguished for his probity, character, accomplishments, and trustworthiness as a man and a pilot. Whoever cares to question this may have his attention directed to Margry (at great length), and to the "Cosmographie" and "Singularitez" of Thevet. I have already referred to what Brevoort, Hakluyt, Kohl, D'Avezac,² have said, and to the record of long service as professional pilot on both sides of the equator in the Atlantic, and

¹ Thorfinn's Saga says, "*Before the river were great islands.*"

² Gaffarel must have seen the manuscripts, which, being in Old French script, were so obscure, difficult to read, and not likely to make a favorable impression. An expert, of the Bibliothèque, for my use converted the ancient into modern French characters, and this copy I compare with the photographic copy of the original. They were translated for me by the Professor of French at Wellesley College. Others have copied and printed occasional portions of the manuscripts, — as Rev. Dr. De Costa and the late Mr. Murphy. It is not to be wondered at that they have crept into both some misprints, which seriously affect the sense.

also in the Indian Ocean and Southern Pacific. The best answer, possibly, to personal criticism of Allefonsce is this: Of all the sea-captains of France he was chosen by the King to be the pilot of Roberval's exploring expedition,—virtually undertaken to supersede the gifted Cartier, at a time when the passage through to the Pacific was the most important geographical problem before the world.

Why was this? Had Cartier failed to find the "Northwest Passage" for lack of a competent pilot? At all events, a change was made. The King wanted the *best* pilot of the realm to accompany a new admiral. The occasion in his opinion justified it.

As I have intimated, the "Cosmography" of Allefonsce is not elegant French. There is in the composition an air of its having been dictated and the phrases taken down *verbatim*. This may have been done by Secalart, whose name appears with that of Allefonsce, although the title-page of the manuscript is wanting. Be that as it may, never for a line is the sense of personal responsibility for what he is saying—the pride of the pilot—wanting. His relation was written at a time when America was still supposed to be made up of islands,—as indicated on Cosa's map, on Gastaldi's, on Ruscelli's, and specifically in the text of Ramusio.¹ He suspected, as others did, the connection of Stony Brook with the St. Lawrence, as indicated on maps in my possession, and the other branch of the Charles with Buzzard's Bay, or Narragansett; and Thevet seems to have had the latter notion. There are many maps of the period² indicating this idea.

¹ From the reports of Cartier, we are not clear as yet whether New France is continuous with the Terra Firma of the Provinces of Florida and New Spain, or whether it is all cut up into islands; and whether through these parts one can go to the Province of Catal, as was written me many years ago by Sebastian Cabot, our Venetian." (See Kohl's "Discovery of America," p. 380.)

² Vesputiano's map (Maiollo's), 1524-1527, and Ribero's 1527-1529, seem to have been among the first, if not the very first, to present a correct idea of the continuity of the coast.

ERRORS IN ESTIMATING LONGITUDES AND DISTANCES AT SEA.

HOW NEAR ALLEFONSCE CAME.

Distances are estimated in leagues and latitudes; but in a region of ocean currents, like that from the north along our coast southward as far as Hatteras, these could only be approximate. Besides the Arctic current, there are, as we know, the great tidal oscillations which make strong currents near the shore in alternate directions, twice daily, in the region of Cape Ann and Cape Cod. Still, the latitudes of 1542, when Allefonsce was here, were in the main trustworthy, certainly within a degree. Verrazano obtained (at anchor), in the harbor, precisely the latitude of Newport in 1524; but he states in a communication to the King his difficulty in making observations when at sea. Allefonsce's record and paragraphs cited at length in Margry recognize something of the same difficulty. Thevet gave latitudes at a later day, as already noted, with great precision. There can be no doubt as to the general trustworthiness of Allefonsce's latitudes. We shall see, further on, that other geographers and explorers sustain him.

ALLEFONSCE'S ORIGINAL CHARTS, AND THOSE OF OTHERS WHO HELD AS
HE DID.

The photographic copies of the two sketches in the manuscripts of Allefonsce in the Bibliothèque Nationale, to which I have referred, lead the column. One is of the island of Cape Breton at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, in latitude of 45° to 48° ; and the other includes the islands off the Maine coast and the region immediately south of the Cape Breton in the forty-third degree, from the Baya de Rockas of Ruysch (1507)—the bay against the Beverly, Manchester, and Gloucester shores—southward, including the rocks and islands at the mouth of the Charles; also Cape Cod and the salients and islands still farther south.

I place before the photographs tracings made by Rev. Dr. De Costa and Mr. Murphy, and after them a succession of maps showing that

the association of Cape Breton and St. Johan, remarked by Allefonsce as in the forty-third degree, arose with John Cabot and Cosa, and has been perpetuated by many cartographers and writers, of whom Dr. Slafter is the latest, to identify the latitudes and by good fortune the geographical names of John Cabot, — CAPE BRETON [the Cabo de Yngla Terra] AND ST. JOHAN [St. Johan of Cosa]. See also charts of equivalents of Cape Breton and St. Johan, of the forty-third degree.

THE RELATION OF ALLEFONSCE TO THE TWO CAPE BRETONS

The object in this sheet of maps is mainly to show that there were *two Cape Bretons*. The whole series of *fac-similes* is full of testimony relating to early New England cartography; and as the map is detached, it may be conveniently used to illustrate the various points of the argument.

First. There is an island, which early received and still bears the name of Cape Breton, lying between the forty-fifth and the forty-eighth degrees of latitude.

Second. There is *another Cape Breton*, — “also called an island,” — also “called St. John,” which is in the forty-third degree. This cape and island no longer bear either of the several designations recognized by Allefonsce.

The second cape is now called Cape Ann, and is not recognized as an island. It is, with Gloucester, separated from the mainland by a canal and the Annisquam River, observed by Gomez in 1525, and called, as already mentioned, canal St. Julian = St. Johan, — the former a misreading, so I conceive, of the manuscript record communicated to Harris.

THIS IS THE ORIGINAL ISLAND OF JOHN CABOT'S LANDFALL IN 1497, and bears the name and date on Lok's map.

Third. There is the *pair*, Cape Breton and St. Johan, in the forty-third degree.

ALLEFONSCE IN REGARD TO THE TWO CAPE BRETONS, AND THE TWIN NAME OF
THE CAPE IN THE FORTY-THIRD DEGREE.

List of Maps:—

1. Restoration by Rev. Dr. De Costa of the first sketch made by Allefonsee of the island of Cape Breton at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.
 2. Restoration by Mr. Murphy of the second sketch, in the forty-third degree, by Allefonsee, showing Rio Norumbega.
 3. Photograph copy of the pen-and-ink sketch by Allefonsee of the region of the Island of Cape Breton, between the parallels of forty-five and forty-eight degrees of latitude.
 4. Photographic copy of a pen-and-ink sketch by Allefonsee, embracing the forty-first, forty-second, forty-third, and forty-fourth degrees of latitude, according to his relation; also Cape Breton and St. Johan (Cape Ann), Cap de la Franciscane (Cape Cod), and, of course, Rio Norumbegue, which lies between, being in the forty-third degree.
 5. To the left, Thevet, from relations, including the forty-first, forty-second, and forty-third degrees. (See *Cosmography*, 1575.)
 6. To the right, Thevet's map in his "*Cosmography*."
- This is an obvious copy of Mercator's (1569), which is given on the sheet (page 32) entitled, "Was there a City of Norumbega?" It shows the site of Fort Norumbega and of the city of Norumbega, on a river between C. des Bertoens C. de Arenes. In his relation Thevet gives the latitude, as already noted, of the mouth of the Norombegue River as 42° 14'.
7. Lok's map (or tracing), 1582, incorporating and indorsing the site of the Landfall of John Cabot in 1497, presenting the mouth of the Charles and the supposed (Verrazano) isthmus separating the Atlantic from the Pacific,—the *Mare Indicum* and *Mare Verrazana*,—near Barnstable. A photographic fac-simile is given on the sheet of maps (page 32).
 8. Cosa, 1500. Conceived to be a free-hand sketch (by a sailor under Cabot, who afterwards shipped with Cosa) of the coast along which John Cabot sailed in 1497,—after his Landfall. It presents Cavo de Yngla Terra, and Cavo de St. Johan,—the equivalents of Cape Breton and St. Johan, on Lok's map,—the mouth of the Charles, with its rocks and islands, and the ancient islands (now joined to the mainland) at the terminus northward of Cape Cod, identified by Rev. Dr. Slafter.

9. Linschot (also called Hakluyt Martyr). It contains Cape Britton (for Breton) and I. S. Johā.

10. Merriam gives C. Breton and S. Johan at the north, and P. (Promontorium) Coaranes—and its (not recognized) equivalent, the duplicate C. de las Arenas—at the south.

11. Jomard gives C. Breton and I. de S. Johā at the north of R. Grande, the earliest name of the Charles.

12. Diego Homem, 1558. Boston Harbor, with the Cape of Many Islands (Cohasset), between Cap de Arenas (Cape Cod) and C. des Bertoens (Cape Breton) and Ribero de S. Johan [the Canal of Gomez].

It is well to pause a moment and dwell on the significance of these geographical determinations. They hold the key to the comprehension of all the ancient maps of the New England coast. This sheet of maps carries *uniformly* and *together* the two names,—Cape Breton and St. Johan,—applied to the island in the forty-third degree.

The island is indicated on many maps. But on that of Lok it is merged in a larger island; and the canal and Annisquam River are not indicated.¹

¹ I have felt a strong suspicion that in the Dauphin map of 1546 (D'Avézac and Kohl make an earlier date; but it is now ascribed to Desceliers, with the date of 1546), and that of Sebastian Cabot (1544), there was an effort made by the map-makers to present the rival claims of the two sover. reigns of France and England to the New England coast. They were challenged by the Spanish map of Ribero of 1527-29.

John Cabot laid the foundation of the British claim in 1497; Verrazano, that of the French in 1521.—if we exclude that based on the presence in this latitude of the Bretons at least half a century earlier.

In Cabot's time (Columbus's time) it was, as we know, the prevailing notion that the whole Western World was a cluster of islands,—the extension of the East Indies; hence we have Cabot's Landfall on an island. It is better shown on Gastaldi and Ruscelli. But the real island, which was Cabot's St. Johan, was the part cut off by the Annisquam River, the canal St. Johan, leading to Annisquam Bay (see Bolero's map, page 39, and Coast Survey of Cape Ann, pages 37-38). The harbor of Gloucester was the St. John's of John Rut,—the St. Johan associated by Alfonseus with Cape Breton in the forty-third degree, in the passage, "the Cape of Breton . . . which is also called S. Johan, and many other parts in the Mer Oceane, in the forty-third degree." The continuity of the coast—the fact of a continent—seems to have been wholly accepted by Verrazano in 1521. Ribero's map appears to have rested mainly on Spanish charts. Some

Let the reader look for the names Cape Breton and St. Johan as companions.

Next look for Carenas (Cape Cod) on Lok's map as associated with these companions, and always at the south.

Then look for the river between these two points,—earliest known as the Rio Grande on Ruysch's map, now as the Charles on the last map of the series,—the Coast Survey of Massachusetts Bay,—on which the outline of the coast in the forty-third degree is presented.

The testimony of Champlain, taken in connection with the site of the City of Norumbega, will be further considered hereafter.

Let us now return to Thevet.

First of all, in his text he places Norumbegue as a *country* in the forty-third degree, where Allefonsee places the *city* of Norumbegue. He gives for the latitude of the mouth of the Charles River (Nantasket Roads), as already cited, $42^{\circ} 14'$. This can vary but a few minutes, whether we take Nantasket Roads as the mouth, or the East Boston Ferry, or the Charles River where it enters the Back Bay at Brookline Bridge, from about $42^{\circ} 20'$,¹—the accepted latitude of Boston.

Thevet calls Cape Cod, as we have seen, Cape Arenes (strictly C darenes); Champlain called it Cap Blanc; the Dauphin map, Cape Sablons (C des sablons); the Dutch, Witte Hoeck,—all so calling it because of the presence or *whiteness* of its sand. Cape Arenes differs but little from the Cape de Arenas (Cape of the Sands) of Mercator, and is very near in sound to the (Promontorium) Coaranes (of Merriam?), the nearest equivalent in pronunciation to the Icelandic name Kjölunes, of which *Kjaldarnes* of Thorwald is the genitive, as given by native Icelanders,—the inherited Carenas of Lok, and, probably, of the time of John Cabot.

of it came doubtless through Ayllon and the pilot Miruelo of a voyage made in 1520,—eight hundred leagues northward of the Bahamas. (See Peter Martyr, "Decades," vii chap. ii.) It may have received material from the Portuguese Cortereal, 1504, and the geographer Ruysch, 1507. (See list of Maps, page 32.)

¹ Strictly $42^{\circ} 21' 27.6''$ applies to the State House.

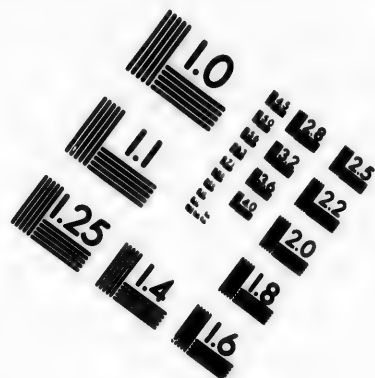
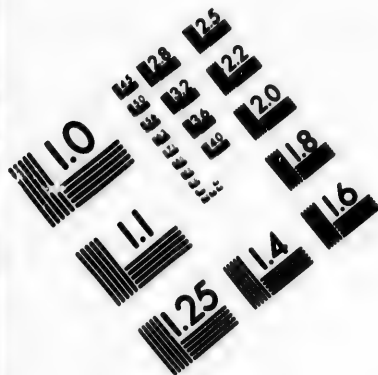
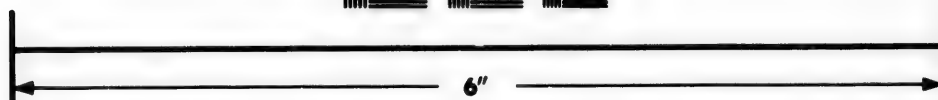
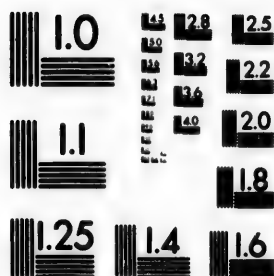


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I submit a table of successive or alternate names borne on the maps of the three most important points in the forty-third degree; namely,—

CAPE ANN.	RIVER CHARLES.	CAPE COD.
Cape Tragabigzanda ¹	Mess-adchu-see ² (Massachusetts)	Witte Hoeck
Cap des Isles ³	Mishaum (Big Eel, Indian)	Cape James ⁴
Cape Breton	R. du Guast (Champlain)	Cap Blanc
	R. Gas (Champlain; also De Læet)	
Cape Brytaine	R. Norombegue (Norumbega)	Cape Cod ⁵
Cape Bryton	R. Gamas — Gomes ⁶	Cap des Sablons
Cape Bretton		Cabo de Baxos
Cape Britton	Anguileme (French for Eel)	
Cape Breton	Rio Grande	C. de Arenas
Cape Britonum	Rio Grãdo ⁷	C. de Arena
Cape Berton		C. de Arenas
Cape Bertam		P. Coaranes
Cape Berto		Carenas
Cape Brittain		Kjölrnes
Cavo de Yngla terra ⁸		Kjalarnes
Cavo de Brittoni		
Cape Britain ⁹		
Island of St. Johan		
Cape St. Johan		
Cape St. Jean		

Thevet calls Cape Ann Cap Sainct Jean; Allefonsee called it St. Jehan. Capt. John Rut (1527) called the Harbor of Gloucester St. John's; ¹⁰ Lok also gives S. Johan, and Cosa gives Cavo St. Johan. ¹¹ Gomez gives the *Canal* St. Julian (St. Johan); Homem, the *River* St. Johan.

¹ John Smith ² Basles. ³ Champlain ⁴ Charles I. ⁵ Gosnold. ⁶ Gomes.

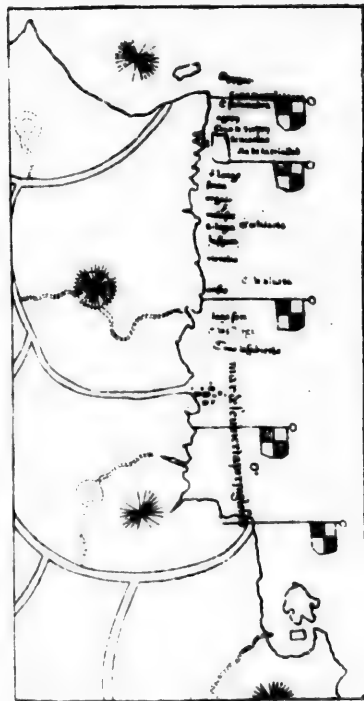
⁷ Ruysch.

⁸ Cosa.

⁹ John Cabot.

¹⁰ Capt. John Rut (1527) found St. John's (Gloucester) — see Purchas, vol. iii p. 809 — a harbor full of fishing-vessels, twenty-five leagues south of Cape de Bas and Cape de Bas Harbor (names on Verrazano's maps and on the Dauphin map). It is also on the Coast Survey and State maps as Bass Harbor Head and Bass Harbor, on the southeast coast of Mt. Desert.

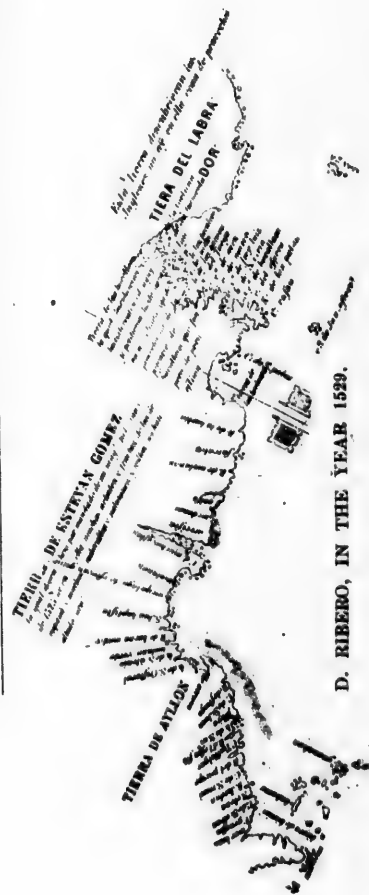
¹¹ On Cosa's map we have with Cavo St. Johan, as we have seen, Cavo de Yngla terra, the



COSA, 1500.



MAIOLLO VERRAZANO, 1524.



D. RIBERO, IN THE YEAR 1529.



HENRY HUTH, 1534.



AGNESE, 1544.



AGNESE, 1641.



VALLARD, 1543.

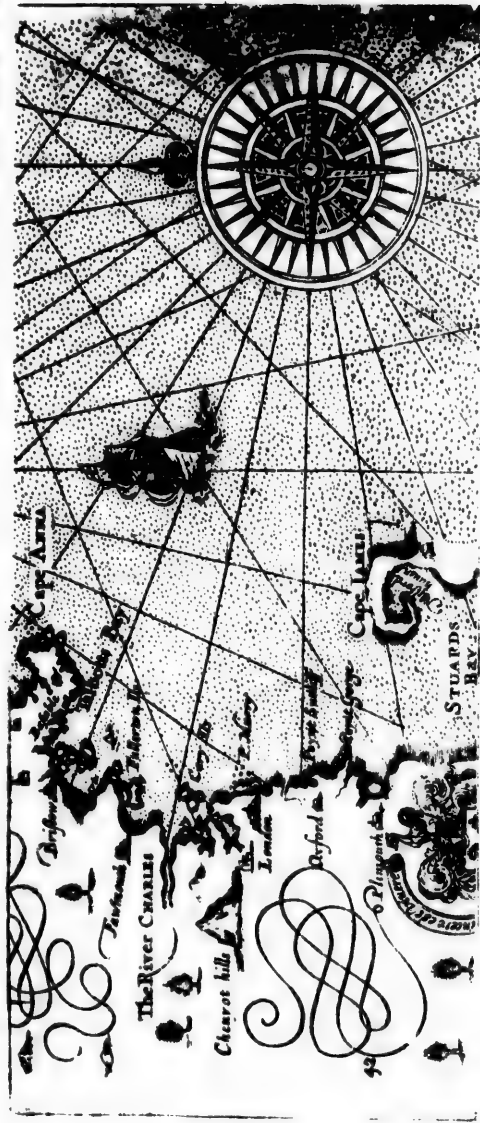
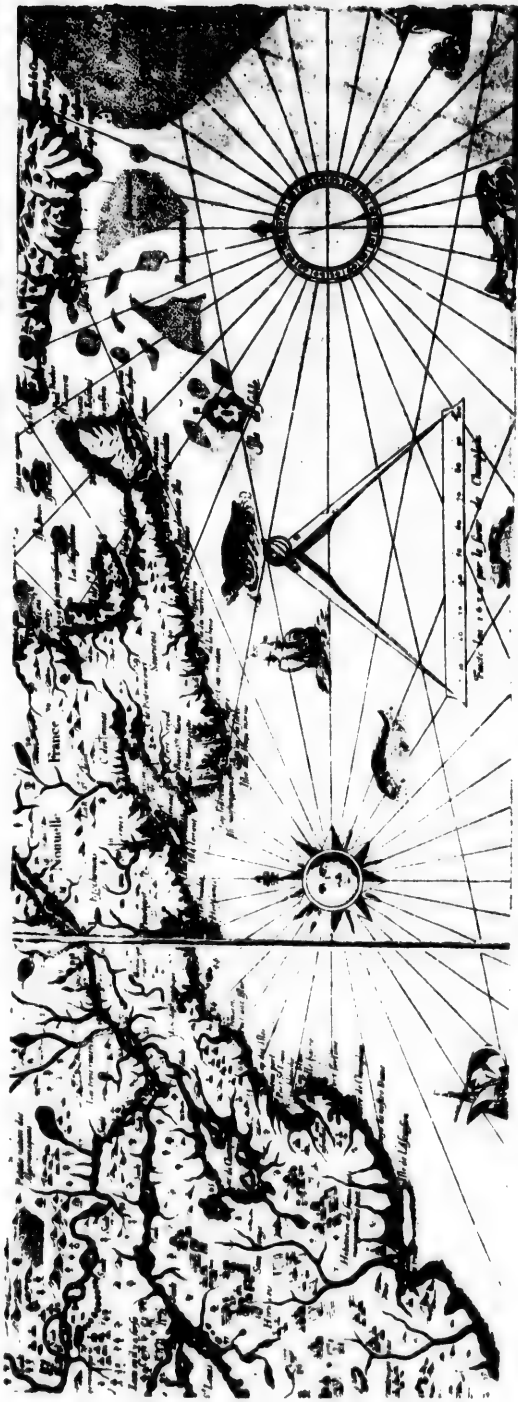


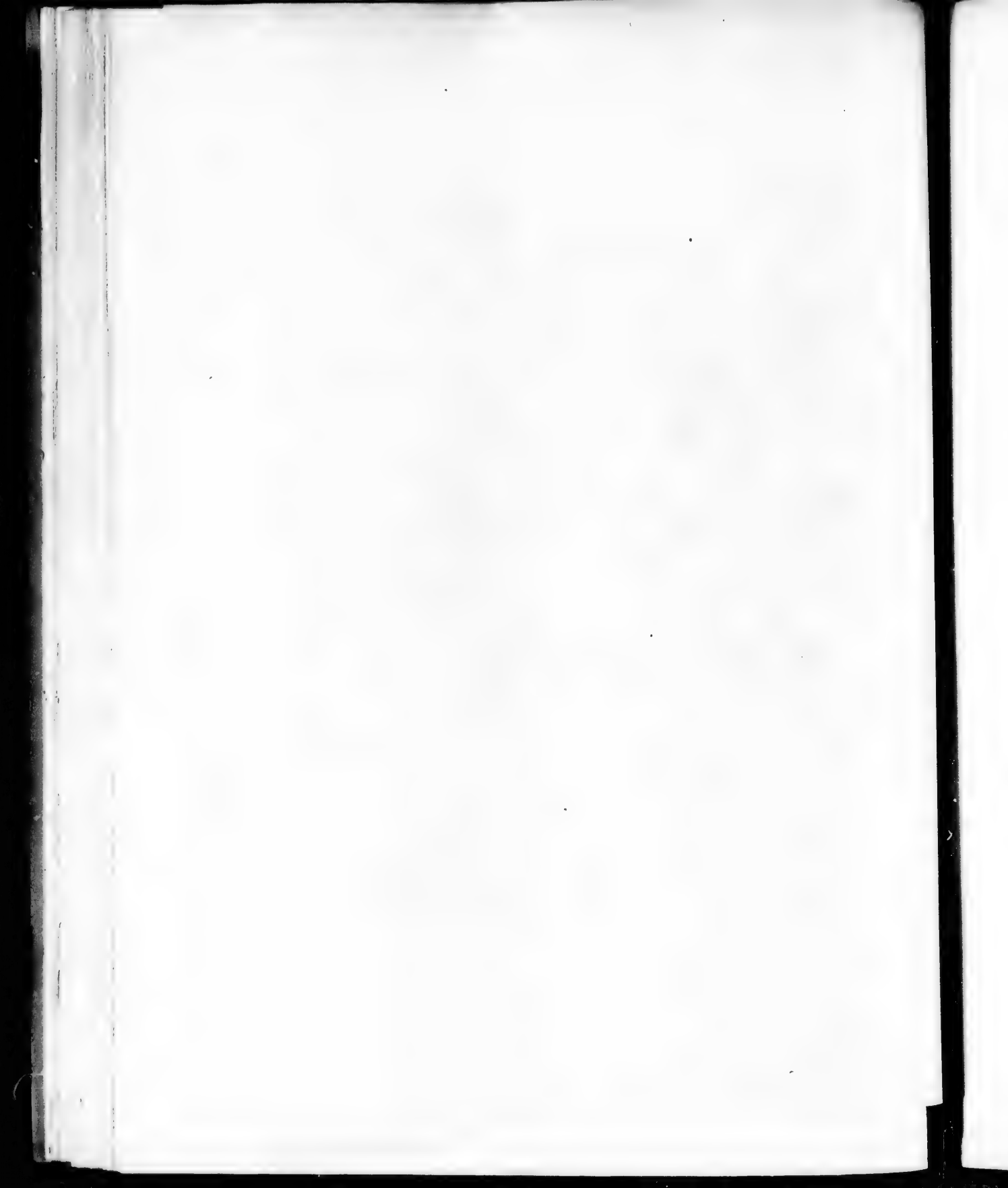
WYFFLIET, 1597.



SEBASTIAN CAROT, 1544.







Thevet's map (Mercator's of 1569) has Cape Breton where in his text is given Sainet Jean; so that in this—the association of the pair of names—Thevet and Allefonsce agree.

Thevet distinguished in his text, as Allefonsce did, between the more northern Cape Breton (associating with it Isle Oiseaux, Isle Brion, Isle St. Jean, etc.), at the mouth of the river of Canada (the St. Lawrence) in 45°–48°, and the southern Cape Breton in the forty-third degree, having also the name Sainet Jean (St. Johan). This Cape Breton in the forty-third degree, called also St. Johan, was —

THE LOST ISLAND OF ST. JOHN, OF JOHN CABOT ON LOK'S
MAP, 1582.¹

I have prepared another group of maps designed to present the equivalent names on each of the points between Cape Ann and Cape Cod, and to some extent farther north and south. The sheet includes Cosa, Maiollo's Verrazano, Ribero, Huth, Agnese, Vallard, Wytfliet, Sebastian Cabot (1544), Gastaldi, Champlain (1632), and John Smith (1614). The reader will remark the invariable order of succession of the names.

On Cosa's Map.

Cavo de Yngla terra and Cava S. Johan (Cape Ann).

Ila de la Trinidad (Claudia and Baker's Island), and against them Salem Harbor.

C. de Lizarte. (Nahant: was it *Lizarte* from its shape?)

Rocks and Islands at the mouth of the Charles.

(Port aux Isles of Champlain; Cohasset of Lescarbot, Champlain, Winthrop, and Coast Survey.)

Flag at the Gurnet.

Two Islands at the end of Cape Cod,—one behind Provincetown; the other opposite; both now continuous with the mainland.

Portuguese for the original name of Britain (Eng.-Angle] land). This Briton (Britonum of Ptolemy) with the later advent or recognition of the presence of the Breton-French in this latitude, became Breton, Terra los Bretones, and Terra dus Bretones, besides taking on other forms. Hakluyt speaks of the *men of St. Maloe of Brytaine* (Breton). This is made plain on looking at the series of maps on page 45.

¹ See Professor Ganong, *Cartography of Gulf of St. Lawrence*, etc. Sec. II. 1889. P. 45.

On Maiollo's Verrazano.

Cape Breton (Cape Ann), Paradiso, Refugio, and Flora, Sauléum Pormtoriaz
(Salem and Marblehead?).

Angileme (Charles River and mouth, Boston inner harbor, — Back Bay and
flooded marsh).

Isthmus (Neck at Barnstable).

Terra Florida (Cape Cod).

On Ribero's.

Terra les Bretones (Cape Ann).

Areciffe (Nahant).

Archipelago of Gomez (Boston outer harbor).

C. d. Muchas Islas (Cohasset).

C. d. Arenas (Cape Cod).

On Agnese's.

Terra de los Britones (Cape Ann).

Terra che Descubrio, Stevan Gomez (New France).

C. d. Muchas Islas (Cohasset).

C. St. Maria (Cape Cod).

On Vallard's.

C. Breton (Cape Ann).

R. de Gamas (Gomez, Charles).

Cape de le Croix (Nantasket).

Southern Cape de Croix (The Gurnet).

C. de Arena (Cape Cod).

On Wytfliet's.

Rio Grande (Charles).

C. de las Islas (Cohasset).

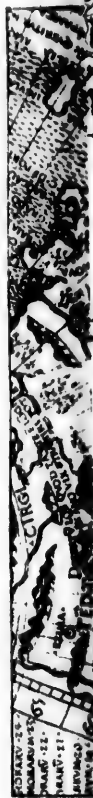
On Sebastian Cabot's (1544).

Prima visa (Mt. Agamenticus).

Prima tierra vista (Cape Ann).

C. de Muchas Is. (mouth of Charles), — Cohasset.

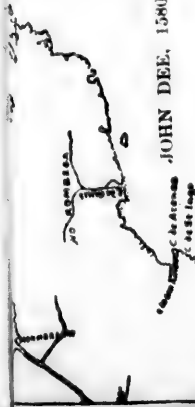
Bay de S. Maria (Boston Harbor).



JOHN DEE. 1580.



1.504 15



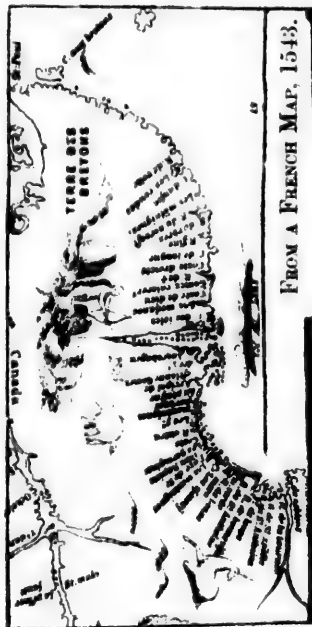
JOHN DEE, 1580.



RUYSCH, 1597



MAIOLLO'S VERRAZANO, 1524.



FROM A FRENCH MAP, 1543.

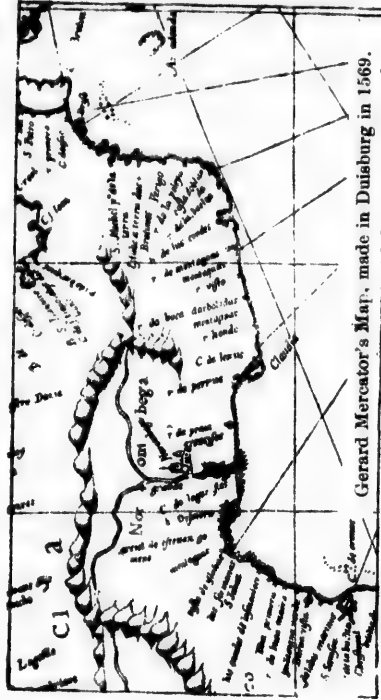


FREIRE, 1546.





Tracing of Wm. de Testie, by Rev. Dr. de Costa.



Gerard Mercator's Map, made in Duisburg in 1569.



WYTFLIET, 1597.



JOHN DEE, 1580.



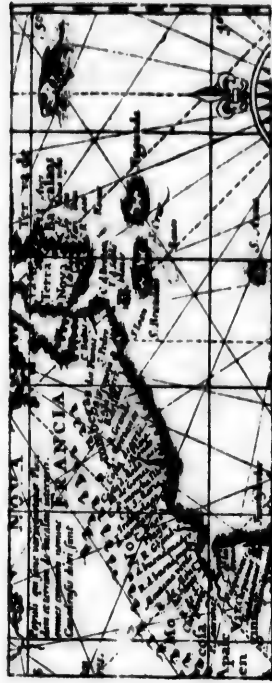
JOHN DEE, 1580.



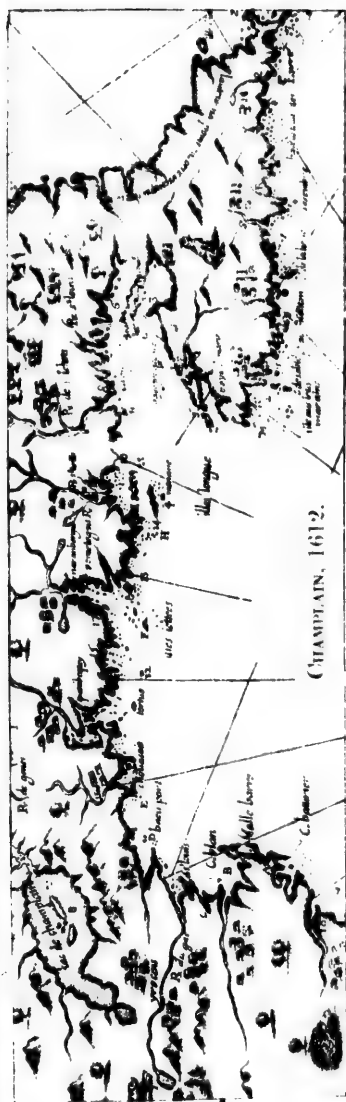
SOLIS, 1598

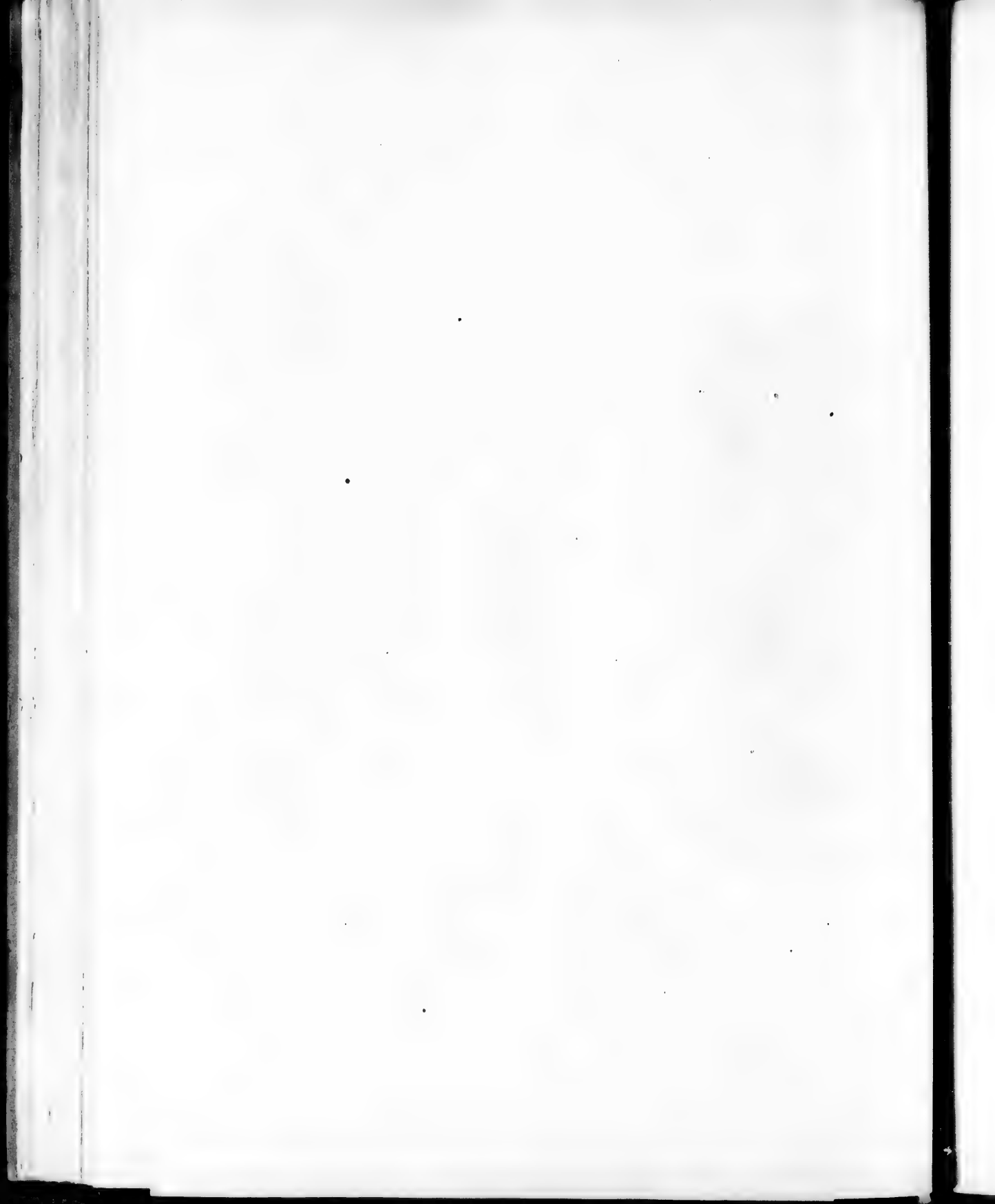


FROM THE MOLINEAUX GLOBE, 1592.



MERRIAM.





On Gastaldi's.

C. Breton (Cape Ann and Isle St. John).

Salem Neck and Harbor, Marblehead, and Baker's Island. See "the letter M."
"Landfall of John Cabot and Site of Norumbega."

On Champlain's (1632).

Cap des Isles (Cape Ann).

Beauport (Gloucester). See map of 1612 and relation.

Chouacoet (Cohasset). Champlain was confused with *two* Chouacoets,—one at the mouth of the Saco; the other at the mouth of the Charles.

Rio du Gas, the duplicate Charles.

Port aux Isles (entrance to Boston Harbor).

Port St. Louis (Plymouth).

Cap Blanc (Cape Cod).

On John Smith's (1614).

Cap Tragabigzanda; also called Cape Anna (Cape Ann).

Bristow (Salem).

Cary Isles (Cohasset).

Point George (The Gurnet).

Cape James (Cape Cod).

I have placed on a separate sheet the various names that have been conferred on —

THE RIVER CHARLES.

On Ruysch, 1507, — Rio Grādo (Rio Grande, Charles).

On Maiollo's Verrazano, 1524–27, — Anguileme (French) = Mishaum (Indian).

Peter Martyr, 1534 (Lenox Library); Rio Stevan Gomes.

Allefonsee, 1542, — Norombergue.

Thevet, 1556, — Norombegue. See relation and maps on other sheets.

Desceliers', 1546, — Anorobagra or *-yea*.

Friero, 1540, — Rio de Gamas.

William de Teste, — Anoragua.

Mercator, 1569, — Rio Grande.

Wyffliet, 1597, — R. Grande.

John Dee, 1580, — R. de Gamas.

John Dee, 1580, — with added names, R. de Gamas.

Solis, 1598, R. Grande.

Molineaux Globe, 1592, — Rio Grande.

Merriam, — Ri. de Gomez.

Champlain, 1612, — River with settlement and Harbor against Chouacoet (Cohasset). Also, farther south, a duplicate called R. du Gas, with lake at the end, and the name *Yrocois*. In the text R. Guast. In De Laet, R. du Gas.

Winthrop, 1634, — Charles.

Let us now turn to the mouth of the river between the two great capes, — Cape Breton = St. Johan (Cape Ann), and Cape de Arenes (Cape Cod).

Thevet says: —

"As for the Bay Sainte Marie [Boston Harbor], and the capes which on the sea-charts are marked 'St. Jean, double' [two salients?—our Cape Ann has two salients], and the Cape of the Sands = Cape de Arenes [Carenas, Cape Cod], . . . they are in three hundred and seven degrees longitude and thirty-eight degrees of latitude;¹ . . . they are thirty-five leagues apart. . . . Sailing out of said river, and steering towards Spain or France, you leave the Cape of the Isles [Cohasset], which you see some eight leagues out into the sea; then if a rough sea or storm should overtake you, you can anchor in the river of Norumbegue in . . . 42° 14' latitude."

FORTY-TWO DEGREES FOURTEEN MINUTES. — THE LATITUDE OF THE MOUTH OF NORUMBEGA RIVER!

Consider for a moment what this means.

On a north and south coast, all that is necessary to determine the site or locality is its latitude.

¹ Possibly a blunder in copying, which is however corrected in the next sentence by the mention of the observed latitude of Nantasket Roads, — the mouth of the Charles, — 42° 14'. It may have been that Thevet was thinking of the extension of the sandy shores southward. It may have been that for the moment he recalled the Chesapeake Bay, — also bearing, like Boston Har-

Let us turn again to the forty-third degree. What river is this whose mouth offers a road to shelter a vessel prematurely sailing eastward to sea? In 42° 14' are the Nantasket Roads! The precise latitude according to the Coast Survey is 42° 18'. On the next page of Thevet the Iroquois name for Nantasket (*Ainyascon*, — the human arm)¹ is given, and the region described. It is the mouth of the Charles, on which river Watertown is situated.

Again, Thevet says:—

"Having left Florida [that is, Cape Cod, the Florida of Verrazano] on the left hand, with all its islands, gulfs, and capes, a river presents itself which is one of the finest rivers in the world, which we call Norumbega, and the Aborigines Agguncia, and which is marked on some charts as the Grand River.² Several other beautiful rivers enter into it, and upon its banks the French formerly erected a little fort, about ten or twelve leagues from its mouth, which was surrounded by fresh water; and this place was named the Fort of Norumbegue. Some pilots would make me believe that this Norumbeguian country is the proper country of Canada; but I told them this was far from truth, since this country lies in the forty-third degree N., and that of Canada in fifty or fifty-two degrees.

"Before you enter the said river, appears an island surrounded by eight small islets [see Huth's map among the charts of the forty-third degree—Kohl], which are near the country of the Green Mountains [our Blue Hills] and to the Cape of the Islets [Cohasset]. Hence you sail along into the mouth of the river, which is dangerous from the great number of thick and high rocks [Minot's Ledge and others], and its entrance is wonderfully large.³ About three leagues into the river an island presents itself to you that may have four leagues

bor, the name St. Marie. Sandy Hook was also called Cape de Arenas (Cape of the Sands). It may have been confusion in his recollections. The cosmography was apparently written many years after he was on our coast.

¹ See De Laet, 1633.

² The name on Ruysch's map is R. Grãdo, the lingual equivalent of Rio Grande on Mercator's and many other maps in the country discovered by the Portuguese (Cortereal), as mentioned by Allefonsee. The strikingly accurate outline of coast from Cape Ann to the mouth of Narragansett Harbor, given as a part of Asia, was in keeping with the geography of the times.

³ I visited Cohasset and Scituate Beach, and had no difficulty in verifying the truth of Thevet's observations.

in circumference, inhabited only by some fishermen and birds of different sorts, which they call Aiayascon [Nanasket = Nantasket]¹ because it has the form of a man's arm, which they call so. Its greatest length is from North to South."

It needs no apology for dwelling on this peculiar promontory, preserved by Thevet and Champlain. This salient, like a bent human arm, appears on *Champlain's* map (1612) near Chouacoet, as well as on *Winthrop's* map (1634) near and within Coneyhasset, and on *Wood's* and the *Coast Survey* near Cohasset, besides in *Thevet's* text, and on my tracing from local maps of the "river flowing through a lake to the sea." Chouacoet appears on *Lescarbot's* map of 1609, but Nantasket is not defined. But besides the arm, and the cape *Cohasset*, there is the indication of the archipelago as Cape of Many Islands, Cap de Lagus Islas, C. de Muchas Islas, and the river and settlement on the Charles.

Altogether are there not here too many elements of coincidence to permit any doubt as to the identity of the ancient river Norumbega with the Charles?

Let us pass on to explain the confusion in Champlain's maps, cleared up by his text.

THERE IS ANOTHER NANTASKET AND ALSO ANOTHER COHASSET DESCRIBED
AND FIGURED BY CHAMPLAIN.

At the mouth of the Saco, just south of Cape Elizabeth, there is an Elbow, and also a chain of rocks (an Algonquin Chouacoit),—corresponding in so far with our Nantasket (the bent arm,—the Aiayascon of Thevet) and our chain of rocks, still called Cohasset Rocks. The name Chouacoet is given on Champlain's smaller map of the region of the Saco and Cape Elizabeth, as recognized by Dr. Slafter, and is given as applied to the river in Champlain's text, although it does not appear on the large maps of 1612, 1613, or 1632.

¹ Nantucket is sometimes written on early maps Nanatucket. Na by itself means "divide." *Nona*, *Nana*, Trumbull suggests, means "both sides," as of a river or of a strait,—land divided by water; a feature of the south shore, of parallel inlets now closed by sand banks.

I insert the map of Saco Bay, with the arm and the chain of rocks, with its long houses and stockade enclosure.¹ The "Cape of the Isles" of Champlain (our Cape Ann) is between the two Chouacoets. Between that of Saco Bay and that at the mouth of the Charles



FROM "VOYAGES OF CHAMPLAIN," EDITED BY DR. SLAFTER.

River there is but *one* cape, and that is near the Beauport of Champlain, which Dr. Slafter recognizes as Gloucester. Champlain, confused in his memory because of the two Chouacoets, placed on his map of 1632

¹ They are such in form and purpose as Thorfinn set up in Vineland in 1007 to protect Gudrid and her child Snorre during the absence of the husband and father at Straumfjord, as mentioned in the Sagas.

(twenty-eight years after his first exploration) the Cape des Isles (Cape Ann) and Beauport (Gloucester), both of them *south* of the Charles. This brings them nearer to Port St. Louis (Plymouth), leaving the compressed contour of Cape Ann without the name *Cap des Isles*, which he has given in his text. But although he fails to give any name to this cape (Cape Ann) on his maps, he gives on the map of 1612 the indentations corresponding to Annisquam harbor on the north, and Gloucester (his Beauport of the text) on the south, of the cape; also the duplicated river Charles,—the northerly one, with the archipelago and Nantasket at its mouth, and the cluster of cabins on its left bank; and the southerly one, issuing from a lake having several settlements and the name *Yrocois* on its banks.

The explanation of Champlain's confusion is simple and obvious. There were then, as there are now, two sets of localities,—each having two striking features; each included a Nantasket and a Chouacoet,—an arm and a cluster of rocks. One set was at the mouth of the Saco, *north* of Cape Ann; the other was at the mouth of the Charles, *south* of Cape Ann. Champlain personally visited only the northern one. To see this clearly, one must look first at the coast outline on any detailed modern map from Cape Cod to Portland; then at the maps of Champlain of 1612, 1613, and 1632, and at the smaller one of Chouacoet.¹

¹ "Cohasset" is an abbreviation. The Algonquin word as a whole is *Quonno-hassun-et*. The *Qu*=*K* in Kennebec, for which we have *Ch* in Chouacoet, and *C* in Connecticut (Trumbull). *Quonno* means "long;" *hassun* means "stone;" *et* means "at" or "near." Winthrop gives an abbreviated form, writing the name as he heard it,—Coneyhasset. What Champlain heard—Chouacoet, or Chouacoit—was very nearly what we write,—Cohasset. It is, as we see, like most aboriginal names, descriptive. It applied to the chain of rocks near Richmond, south of Cape Elizabeth. It applied with more force to the scattered rocky islets near the coast to the southeastward of the entrance to Boston Harbor. The name might be looked for wherever the natural features of rocks rising from water were nearly the same as at either Chouacoet. Champlain applies it to the river Saco.

This particularity and repetition are needed, and will find their justification in view of the duplication and confusion of Champlain's maps. The same extenuation may be urged for other and multiplied repetitions, as of latitudes, and essential points in varied connections. The repetitions have enabled me to omit long and much less satisfactory text.

CAPE BRETON AND ST. JOHAN, — OUR CAPE ANN.

Let us glance at the history of our Cape Ann,—the earlier Cape Breton, and St. Johan,—that lies between the two Cohassetts.

Its present name was given it by Prince Charles, in honor of the Queen his mother (Anne),—as he also gave, or recognized as having been given, the name Bristow (Salem) to the point to which John Cabot came in 1497, lat. of $42^{\circ} 31' 19''$.¹ Bristow appears at the same point on Montana's map and De Laet's, as well as on numerous French, and on other German and Dutch maps.

John Smith had earlier given to Cape Ann the name Tragabigzanda, in memory of a friend during his captivity in Turkey.² Before John Smith's time, the cape had long been called, especially by the early French, Cape Breton; and the region about was called the "Land of the Bretons" (Terra los Bretones), and also "Muchas gentes,"—a hint of significance, as will later become apparent. The French were here from

¹ Bristol, in its vicissitudes as a geographical name, became Bristow, Visto, and Briso. Briso, regarded as French, became Brisa, and was applied to very small rocky islets, which Anglicized became "breakers;" and "breakers" at last applied to a larger one of the islands became Baker's,—the present name, of the original Claudia, which offered an anchorage and shelter to Winthrop in 1630, as well as—accepting the evidence of Cosa's map—to John Cabot in 1497, and possibly to earlier explorers and missionaries.

It was customary for discoverers to give the name of the port from which they set out to that of their first landing. John Cabot sailed from Bristol, or Bristow, England. The latter name is on numerous maps, at or near the site of Salem. Verrazano gave the name of Dieppe, the port of his departure, to his Landfall on Cape Cod, which he supposed to be Florida, on which he had intended to strike, and called it Terra Florida. Had he landed on the coast near the site of St. Augustine, we should probably have had a Dieppe at the South. Numerous towns in New England bear the names of the towns in old England from which the original settlers came.

The name Johan, it has been suggested, besides being given to the island because John Cabot came upon the first sight of land on the 21th of June, his birthday,—his Saint John's day,—was also given to the Blue Hills of Milton, the "Montes Johannis," a great landmark for mariners to-day.

² See the table of names by which Charles River has been known, pages 48 and 51.

some time in the fifteenth century.¹ The name, as we have already seen, runs back to the Portuguese name of England, *Yngla Terra*. (See Cosa's map, pages 43-44.)

LOCAL MAP OF CAPE ANN.

I introduce a fragment of the Coast Survey — the local chart of Gloucester Harbor — to show, in this connection, one or two other points that connect themselves with the observations of Verrazano and Gomez.

On the local map of Cape Ann we have Norman's Woo Rock and Norman's Cove, palpably pointing to the Northmen and to the name (*N*)orumbega near Cape Breton on Jerome Verrazano's map, 1527.² These are associated with the canal St. Julian (St. Johan) of Gomez³ (confounded in earlier times with the Gut of Canso),⁴ leading through to Squam River and Anni-Squam Harbor, making the island of St. Johan of Cabot, so long confounded with the island of Cape Breton at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. (See Gastaldi's and many others of the maps herewith submitted.)

It will be seen that Gloucester Harbor is the Beauport of Champlain, as well as the St. John's of John Rut⁵ and the (N)oranbega of Verrazano.

¹ Indeed, the French were in the basin of the Charles when John Smith came (1614), and later (1630) when Winthrop arrived. See the Queen Regent's letter to the French minister at the Spanish court, Gaffarel's "Life of Thetvet," p. 399, edition of 1878, Paris.

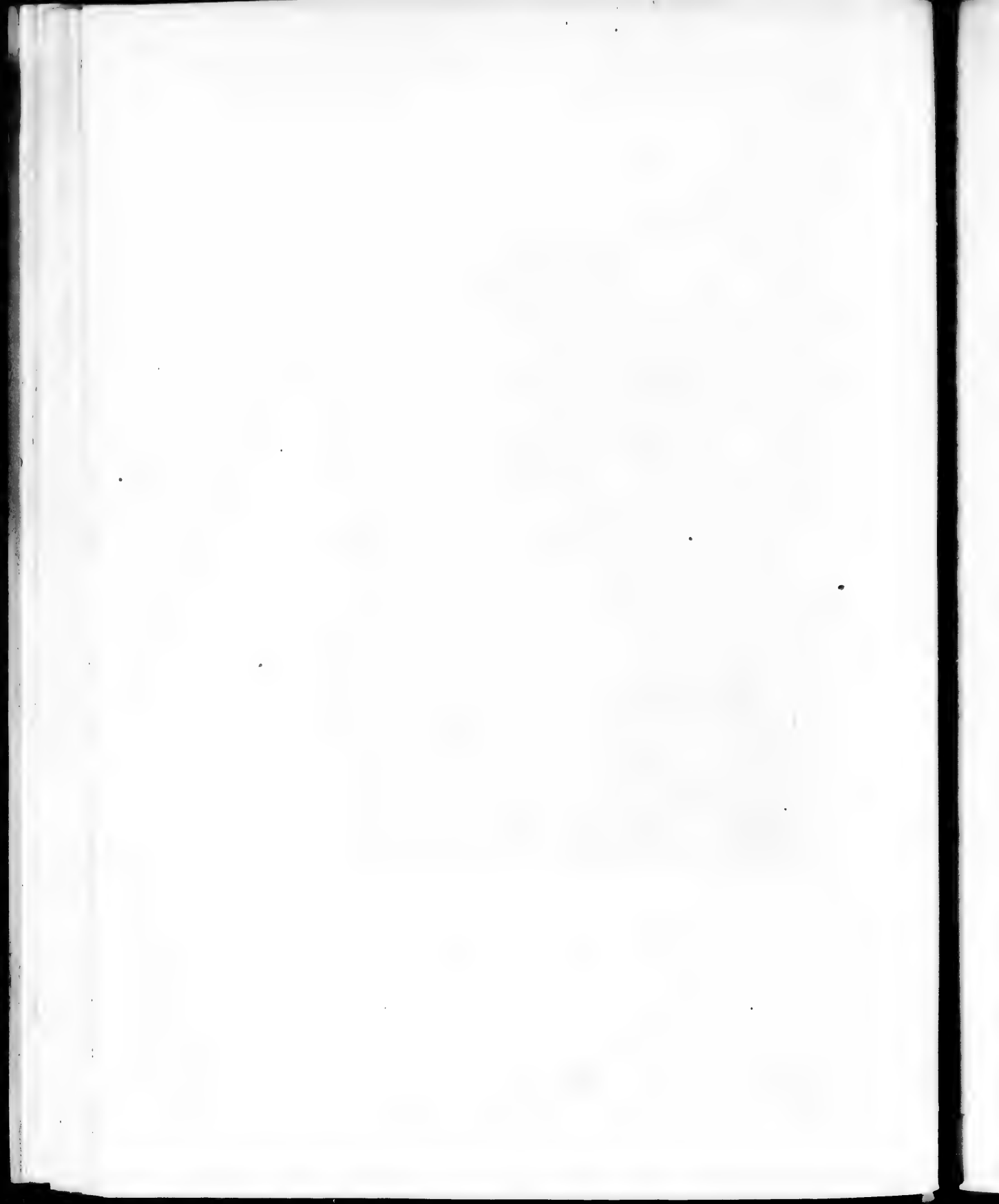
² I have found traces of families bearing the name Norman and Noman (a Wampanoag) in the history of Eastern Massachusetts.

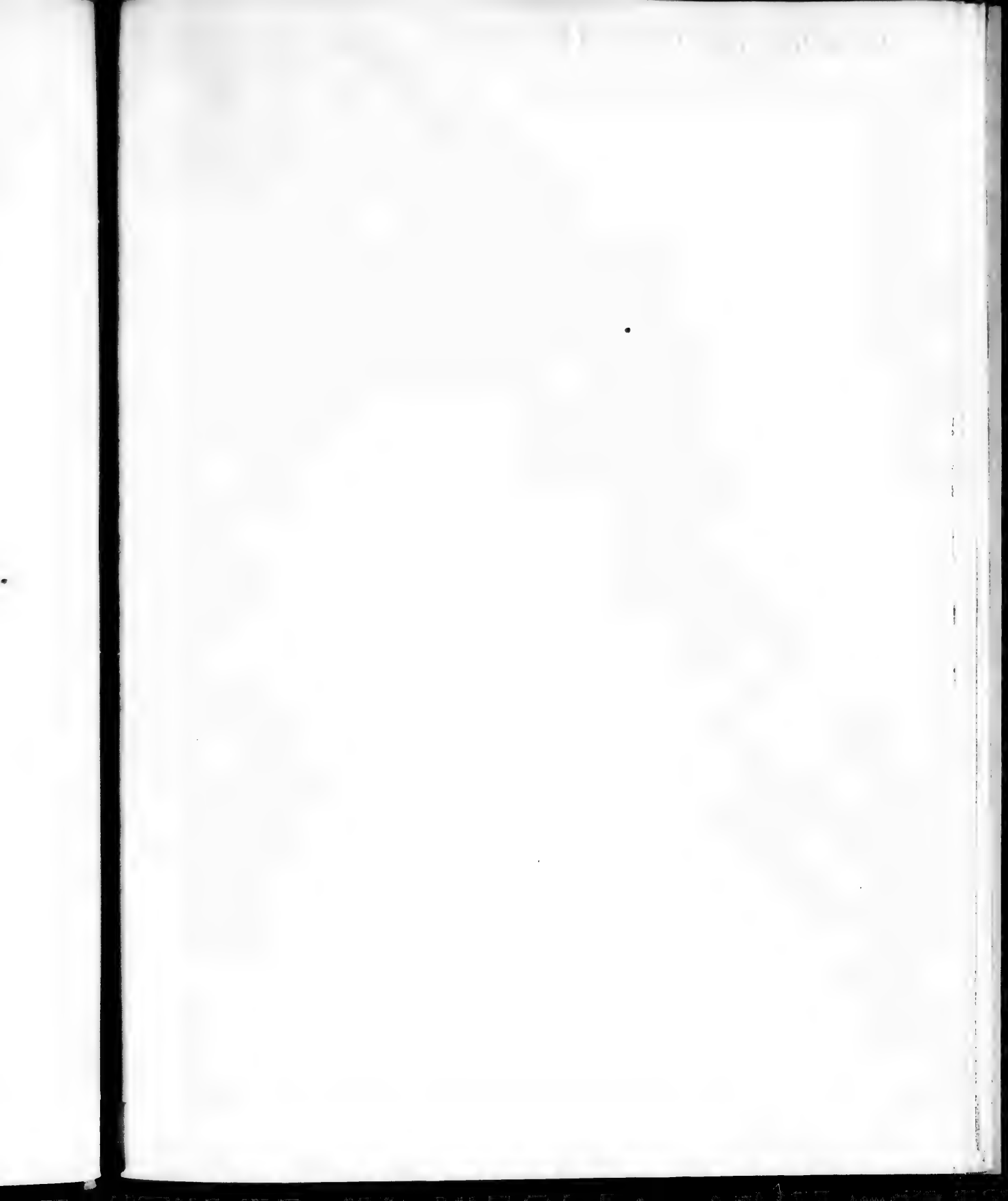
³ This discovery by Gomez near the archipelago bearing his name, where he passed much time seeking to find the strait to the Western Ocean, is preserved in manuscript *only*, according to Harriase. It is easy to see how, in imperfect chirography, *Johan* might be read *Julian*. We have seen on Bollero's map, 1551 (?), the "Canal of St. Juan" (page 39), opening into Squam River from the south. This channel, with the banks of excavation, is still wonderfully distinct and straight, as shown on the local maps; and through it, back and forth, the tide daily sweeps to sea, as it has for many centuries. Southac noticed and figured it early in the eighteenth century. The transfer of this canal and of the Cape Breton (Island) to the mouth of the St. Lawrence I pointed out in my earlier paper (1885) on the "Landfall of Cabot in 1497."

⁴ *Canso*: spelled also *Canseau* and *Campsseau* (Champlain), and otherwise. *Canso* seems a case of simple metathesis from *Cansoas*, a plural form in use for the Indian word *cano*. *Gut* possibly is from *guta*, a trough or, relatively, a channel with parallel sides.

⁵ See "Discovery of America by the Northmen."

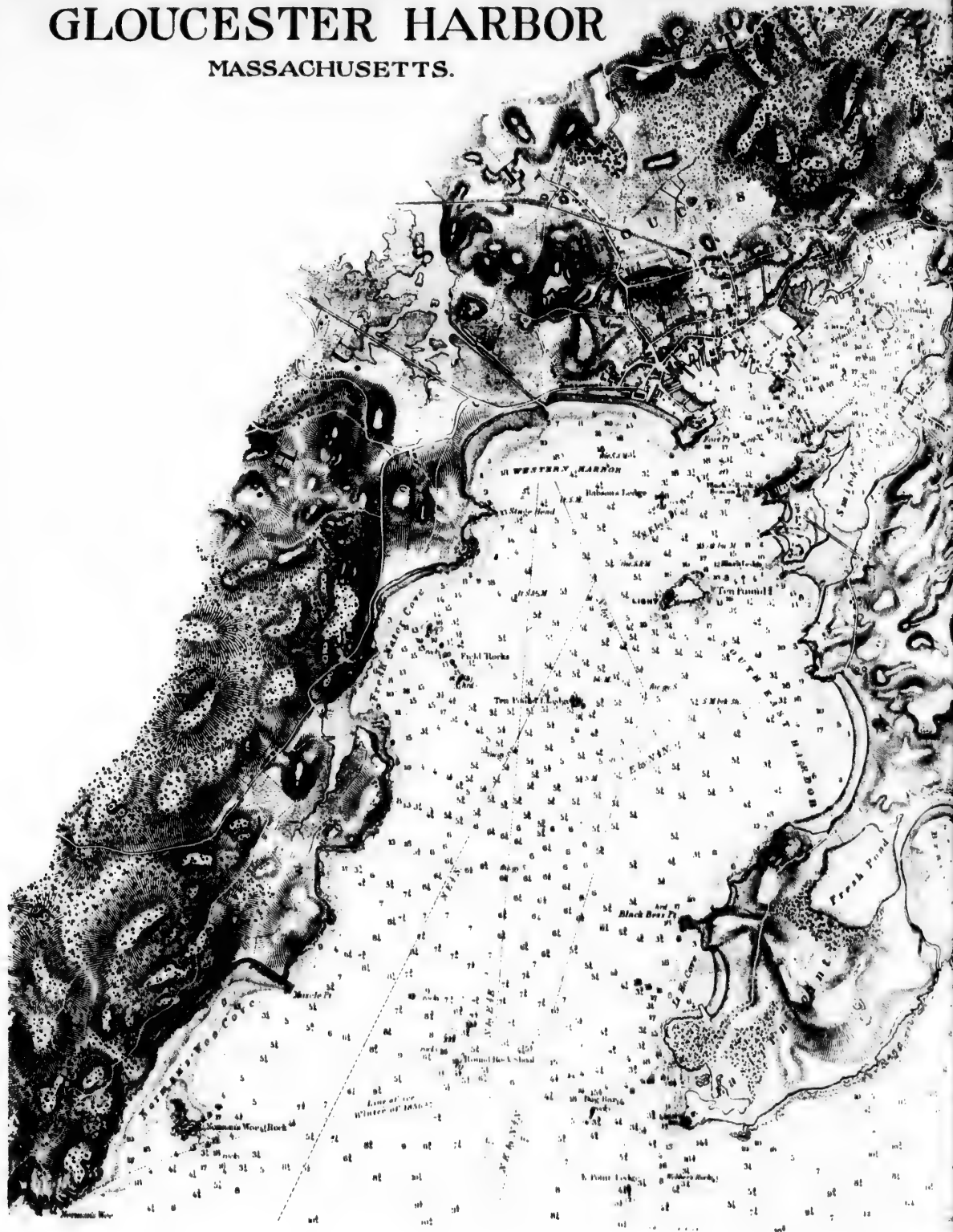






GLOUCESTER HARBOR

MASSACHUSETTS.



THE MOUTH OF CHARLES RIVER VARIOUSLY INDICATED.

We have, as may be seen, on the whole series of maps of the different sheets, names which associate the mouth of the Charles with a cluster of islands, — sometimes at the entrance to its mouth, to which Champlain gave the name Port aux Isles, and sometimes within it, as the archipelago of Gomez. Then follow virtual equivalents, — as Cape de Lagus Islas, Cape de las Islas, Cape de Muchas Islas; and then sketches indicating the islands at the entrance to the bay and within it; then equivalent names of the river. The occurrence of islands at the mouth is mentioned by Thorfinn in his Saga describing the approach to Vineland, — “Before the mouth of the river are great Islands.” That, and “the small landlocked bay, salt at flood-tide and fresh at ebb,” — the Hóp (the Boston Back Bay), — and the “river flowing from the land through a lake to the sea,” in the Vineland Sagas, were the chief guides to Leif’s houses. (See maps, pages 51–52.)

PLYMOUTH HARBOR.

Many of these charts,¹ it will be observed, hold the Bay of St. Christopher (Plymouth Harbor),² San Antonio Bay and River (Jones River), the Blue Hills of Milton (Montana verde; also Monte Johannis), Terra Nova, the “New founde lande,” of Henry VII. (see second patent to John Cabot),³ one or more of them in various languages. They are all in or

¹ Some of the maps are inexpressibly unique and valuable, the sole copies I have seen. All are photographic copies. They are from various sources, including the collections of Mr. Brevoort, General Barlow, Rev. Dr. De Costa, Jomard, Kunstmann, Drake, Winsor’s America, and of various public and private libraries at home and abroad, — to which I have added somewhat from the works of the engineer and draughtsman, Mr. George Davis, of the Water Works of the city of Cambridge.

² I have elsewhere (See “Discovery of America by Northmen”) pointed out that the origin of the name might be ascribed to the Church, — the long, narrow harbor of Plymouth and the alternate rise and fall of the tide suggesting the story of Saint Christopher.

³ The Henry VII. charter speaks of “New founde lande and islands.” John Cabot, in his account of his first voyage, mentions discovering two islands “on his right” — on the home voyage — besides that of his landfall. The narrow straits and the flags on Cosa’s map may have been intended to indicate the islands of which possession had been taken. On Rotz’s map, against

near the port of the St. Louis of Champlain,—the Plymouth of the Pilgrims of 1620.

Taking the maps together, they show that the Anorobagra of Jerome Verrazano, the Anguileme of (Maiollo's) Verrazano, the Norombegue of Thevet and the Norombergue of Allefonsee, the Mishaum of the Indians, the Rio du Gas and its duplicate of Champlain, the Mess-adchu-sett of Rasles (Massachusetts), and the Charles of John Smith are all one and the same, and in the forty-third degree,—between Cape Ann and Cape Cod.

CAPE BRETON THE CAVO DE YNGLA TERRA OF COSA, AND THE
CAPE ANN OF PRINCE CHARLES.

In the "Geschichte der Entdeckung Americas," 1859, Kunstmann points out this relationship,—to which I drew attention five years ago, in my letter to the President of the American Geographical Society on the Landfall of John Cabot in 1497, and on the site of Norumbega. This relationship was also early recognized by Dr. Slafter.

Dr. Slafter says of Cape Cod, in a note to "Champlain's Voyages," vol. xi. p. 79: "*It is well defined on Juan de la Cosa's map of 1500, although no name is given to it.*" One of the two islands was that on which Leif made his Landfall five hundred years before; one was still existing at the time of Gosnold, 1602, when he translated Baccalaurus¹ and called the end of the promontory Cape Cod. (See Ruysch's map, pages 49-50.)

On this map of Cosa, to the northwest of the cape or islands, is the following inscription: "*Mar descubierta por yngleses.*" It refers to the

Massachusetts Bay (see Winsor's "America") we have "*The New-fonde-Londe. Quhar men goeth a fishing.*"

¹ *Bacca* = bay; *loo* = food; *baccaloo* = codfish. *Bacalao* — *Bacalao*s, was long supposed to be the name of a country, and is found with various spelling from Point Judy (Juude of Thevet) to the Straits of Belle Isle. It was the name of the fish that drew European enterprise to our shores,—called *Bacalao*s in Spain and its provinces, *Cabeljau* in the Dutch possessions, and *Kabeljau* in the German. It was the earlier stockfish.

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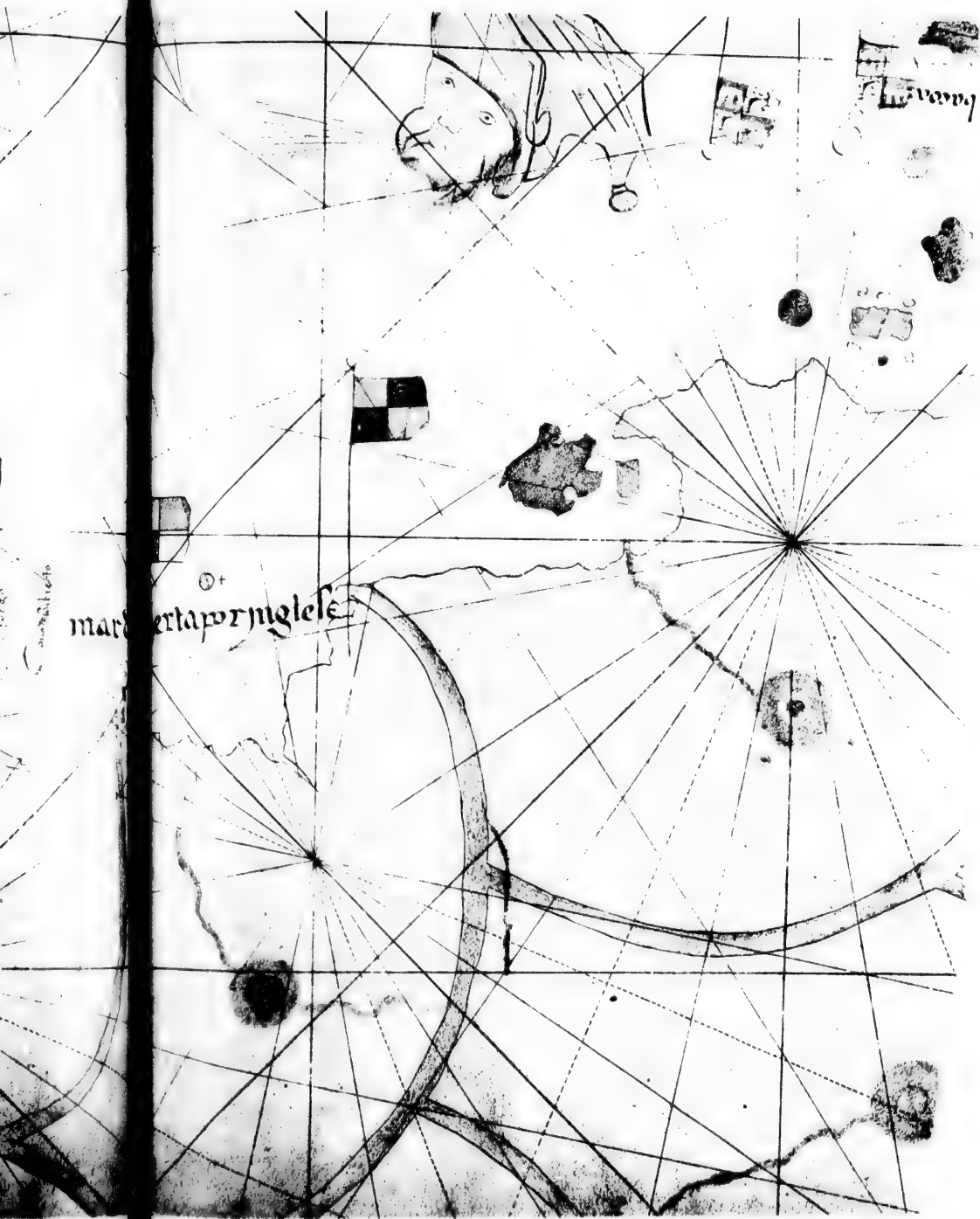
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Massachusetts Bay, which Englishmen had visited. Kuntsmann associates it with the inscription on Lok's map of 1582, "J Gabot, 1497," as bearing on the Landfall of John Cabot, which I pointed out, in the letter above referred to, as occurring not far from Cape Ann and Salem Neck. Icelandic records (Stephanius, 1570), as already noted, refer to this bit of coast northwest of "Promontorium Vinlandiae" (Cape Cod), as "*where the English have come.*" The English and Venetian flags on the prominences of Cosa's map unite the nationality of Cabot with that of the land of his adoption. (See Cosa's map, pages 43, 44; also map in "Discovery of Norumbega.")

If we look at the northern terminus of this part of Cosa's map, we find *Cavo de Yngla Terra* and *Cavo de St. Johan* of Cosa in place of *Cape Breton* and *St. Johan* of Lok.¹

It was *these two* — *Cape Breton* and *St. Johan* — that Allefonsce found in the forty-third degree, and which maintain their companionship on so many maps.

These two, also, the *Cape Breton* and *St. Johan* of Lok, the *Landfall* of Cabot, *Cavo de Yngla Terra* and *Cavo de St. Johan* of Cosa, *Cape Sainte Jean* (Double) of Thevet, the north promontory of Massachusetts Bay, the *Cape des Iles* of the text of Champlain and *Cape Ann* of Prince Charles, are all clearly the same in locality.

The name *St. Johan* in the forty-third degree is applied on different maps to a cape, an island, a river, a canal (S. Julian of Gomez), a range of mountains and a harbor, and seems properly, as we have seen, to be in the first instance ascribed to John Cabot, whose birthday, as already noted, — the 24th of June, his Saint's day, — was the date of his *Landfall*

¹ Near *Cavo de Yngla Terra* is *C. fastanatre*, a name (Finis-terre) given to the extreme north-west corner of France (Little Bretagne), and also to the northwest Cape of Spain. The name "Fastanatre," or "Fastanaire," indicates the salient character of the spot. The addition by Thevet to *Cape St. Jean* of the designation "Double," thus recognizing the twin capes, is a fact, as already noted, of striking descriptive significance. It is against the "Three Turks' Heads" of John Smith, the Straightsmouth, Thatcher's, and Milk Islands of modern nomenclature.

in 1497. The Island St. Johan at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, became later, and is still known by the name of, Prince Edward's Island.

The two names coupled by Allefonsee, — Cape Breton and St. Johan, — significant because of their appearing in PAIRS in latitudes three degrees apart, have added to their companionship in the forty-third degree the River Charles and Carenas (Cape Cod), — *two names altogether wanting at the north*. The added cartographical relationship of this new couple, as we have seen, is preserved through a long series of maps. Besides appearing on the maps given on the sheets at page 44, there may be mentioned *vaz* Douardo, Thomas Hood, and generally the maps of the New England coast of the sixteenth century.

The *Cape Cod* seen by Dr. Slafter in the coast outline of Massachusetts, on Cosa's map, finds on Lok's map its corresponding *Carenas*.

This recognition carries with it, of course, that of the River Charles, with the rocks and islands at its mouth, and also Cape Ann with its equivalent names.

It will be remarked that Dr. Slafter, in recognizing the true character of Cosa's map in an essential particular, unites with Lok, Stephanius, Kuntsmann, and myself in the interpretation of one important piece of geographical literature, bearing on the site of the Landfalls of Leif and Cabot, and on the site of Norumbega.

NARRATIVES OF PERSONS WHO HAVE VISITED THE COUNTRY OR CITY OF NORUMBEGA.

We now come to a branch of evidence which will appeal more directly to the general reader. It is the record of personal experience, and may be subjected to a kind of critical analysis in which individual consciousness can play its legitimate part. Whether one feels in its full force or does not appreciate the conclusiveness of the evidence touching the latitude of Norumbega, and that of the place in a series, always at the same point, in the order of succession; whether he is moved by the constancy of the position indicated by geographical names, though in different languages.

still having often the same descriptive signification,—whether either or all of these will crave and secure the attention to which they are entitled, one may not know; but personal narrative has advantages of its own, where the personal equation, so to speak, of the relator may be estimated.

VERRAZANO VISITED THE BOSTON BACK BAY.

The earliest description, after the Vineland Sagas, of Boston Harbor and Back Bay is found in Verrazano's letter to the King. Verrazano made his landfall in the early spring of 1524 on Cape Cod, and for several months coasted alternately up and down, at least as far southward as to the entrance to Delaware Bay. On one occasion as he coasted northward, he says:—

“At the end of one hundred leagues we discovered a very delightful place among some small hills, eminences between which ran a very great river to the ocean,¹ which was deep within to its mouth; and from the sea to the enlargement of the bay the tide was *eight feet*, and through it any heavy ship can pass.” [The tide fixes the point as *north* of Cape Cod. The tide rises in Boston Harbor from eight to ten feet, or more. Tides to the south of Cape Cod—as in Gardiner's Bay—are about three feet. He continues:] “As in good duty we did not wish to run the risk of penetrating the coast without knowledge of the mouth of the river, we took the boat and entered the river within the country, where we found it to be *thickly inhabited*, and the people resembling the others we had seen [more or less fair; that is, of light complexion], adorned with birds' feathers of different colors, coming toward us with evident delight, uttering very loud cries of admiration, indicating, if we had to land with the boat, where it was most safe. We entered the said river within the country about half a league, where we saw it formed a most beautiful lake [Boston Back Bay] about three leagues in compass, upon which we saw boats, thirty in number, moving from one part to another with innumerable people, who passed from shore to shore to see us.”

¹ The only river in the forty-third degree flowing through a lake to the sea and having islands at its mouth is the Charles. Following up from this river's mouth, one enters an archipelago,—the archipelago of Gomez,—sometimes called the Archipelago Tramontana (Tremont); beyond this, with approaching banks, is a strait, with hills on either side,—Cops, Tremont, Breeds, Bunker, and Winter hills.—and then a land-locked bay through which a river flows.

NARRATIVES OF PERSONS WHO VISITED NORUMBEGA.

Next after VERRAZANO we have STEPHEN GOMEZ, in 1525, capturing natives at Norumbega and bringing them home to Spain. In manuscript he has left a record of the discovery of the canal St. Johan (Julian), which is still a monument of early engineering, connecting Gloucester Harbor — (N)orumbega — with Annisquam River.¹ Boston Harbor long bore the name of the Archipelago of Gomez.

Then Capt. JOHN RUT, 1527, was at St. John (Gloucester) Harbor. See Kohl and Purchas.

PARMENTIER found, in 1539, Norumbega *immediately* at the southwest, a quarter west, of Cape Breton (Cape Ann).

In 1542 ALLEFONSCE was in the forty-third degree. He it was who distinguished between the *two* Cape Bretons. He was seeking a strait through to the Pacific, and gives the latitude of Cape Ann, and with it the place of the river and city of Norumbegue; he mentions the fine people there, and the variety and abundance of peltry.

THEVET was on our coast in 1556, and describes in his *Cosmography* (my copy is of 1575)² in much detail the geography of Cape Breton and Cape Johan (Cape Ann), and of Cap de Arenes (Cape Cod), — called also, as he mentions, Francoys (Allefonsce's name was Cap de la Franciscane); determines by observation the latitude of Nantasket Roads at the mouth of Charles River, and gives in his text the river and the city of Norumbega on its banks, and Fort Norumbega at the junction of Stony Brook with the Charles. All are presented on his map or in his text, or in both; and from his description I went directly to the Fort in 1885.

¹ May not this narrow, straight canal have given rise to the Gutta Canoas, — "canoe gutter," — later transformed, and by ellipsis and metathesis become the *Gut of Canso*, which separates the northern Cape Breton from the mainland? This suggestion I ventured to make in my Address on the occasion of the Unveiling of the Statue to Leif Ericsson in 1887. (See "Discovery of America by the Northmen.")

² See "Landfall of John Cabot, 1497, and site of Norumbega." Also, "The Discovery of the Site of the Ancient City of Norumbega."

RAMUSIO in 1556 wrote of Norumbega, its climate, fruits, and topography.

INGRAM, as we have seen, was at Norumbega in 1569,¹ and found a city three quarters of a mile long. He speaks of a *bega*,—a *sheet of still water* (Trumbull) corresponding with that above Waltham, into which Stony Brook empties. Ingram's relation gives an estimate of the distance of Norumbega from Cape Breton of sixty leagues. He probably confounded leagues with miles, as Allefonsce mentions that a range of hills and rocks extended from near (the city of) Norumbega to the sea *fifteen leagues* distant. He followed Indian trails across the continent. Such a trail is still to be recognized in Weston.² These ancient trails were well known.

Rev. B. F. De Costa copies (in N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., April, 1890, p. 153) from (English) State Papers, Vol. I. No. 2, Public Record Office, London,—

"The reports of them that have travelled the aforesaid countries, with the note of such things as they have found there, over and above that which Ingram upon his examination did confesse, whose names are Verrazanus, Jaques Cartier, JOHN BARROS, Andrewe Thevett, JOHN WALKER, of which number Humphrey Gilbert did confer in person with the three last."

"SIMON FERDINANDO, 'Mr. Secretary Walsingham's man' [1579], went and came from the coast of Norumbega in three months."

"JOHN WALKER, sent out by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, was within the river Norumbega, in 1580, IX leagues from its mouth; on a hill on the north side of the river he found a silver mine. He found in one house [Indian house], seven miles from the river's side, 300 hides, each of 18 square feet [these may well have been buffalo skins]."

Marginal Note. "Sir H. Gilbert's man brought of the Syds [sides or hides] of this beast from the place he discovered."

"Humphrey Gilbert's man [John Walker], which he sent to discover the land, reporteth there houses to be buylt in lyke manner rounde."

¹ See "Landfall of John Cabot, 1497, and site of Norumbega." Also, "The Discovery of the Site of the Ancient City of Norumbega."

² There was a grand junction of Indian trails in the Genesee Valley, known to me in my boyhood as *Caghnaueauga*. The name appears also in Canada, and at still another point in the southwest. The evidence of a common language is obvious.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert himself undertook his voyage for the discovery of Norumbega lying to the southwest of Cape Briton (Breton), in 1583. (Clarke; Hakluyt.)

Captain JENYNGES, and his mate SMITHE of the ship "Toby," informed Hakluyt of *Spaniards* who had been driven on the coast of Norumbega, and "lighted on a towne on a ryver's side which they affirmed to be above a quarter of a mile in lengthe."

STEPHEN BELLINGER, of Rouen, a "familiar friend" of Hakluyt, was at Norumbega in the year 1583, and purchased a great variety of merchandise, mainly peltry, which Hakluyt personally saw; he found a city, and estimated the number of houses at eighty. Hakluyt says:—

"This coaste of Norumbega, from Cape Breton [the northern] CC [200] leagues to the southwest, was again discovered at the chardges of the Cardinal of Bourbon by my friend Stephen Bellinger, of Roan [Rouen], the last yere, 1583, whoe founde a towne of four-score houses, covered with the barkes of trees, upon a river's side, about C leagues¹ from the aforesaid Cape Breton. He reported that the countrie is of the temperature of the coaste of Gascoigne and Guyaⁿ. He brought home a kinde of minerall matter supposed to holde silver, whereof he gave me some; a kind of muske called castor; divers beastes skinned, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, scales, buffs, dere-skynnes, all dressed, and painted on the inner side with divers excellent colours, as redd, tawnye, yellow and vermillyon,²—*all which thinges I [Hakluyt] saw*; and divers other merchandize he hath which I saw not. But he told me that he had CCC and xl crownes for that in Roan, which, in trifles bestowed upon the Savages, stood him not in fortie crownes. . . . The nature and qualitie of thother parte of America from Cape Briton [the northern], being in 46 degrees unto the latitude of 52 for iij C leagues within the lande, even to Hochelaga, is notably described in the two voyadges of Jacques Cartier."³

¹ The one hundred leagues is nearer the actual distance from our Island of Cape Breton to the mouth of the Charles. The two hundred leagues doubtless refers to the whole extent of his sailing and discovery. It was at the best an estimate in the light of little experience on our coast, in which strong tides and the arctic current prevail.

² Buffalo robes in commerce fifty years ago, from the West, were painted with these colors.

³ See Hakluyt's Western Planting.

In another connection Hakluyt says: —

"... My friend Stephen Bellinger of Roan, whoe departed from New Haven in January was twelve months, arrived at Cape Briton [the northern] in XX daies space, and from thence discovered very diligently, CC leagues towards Norumbega, and had trafique with the people in tenne or twelve places; founde a towne conteyninge fourescore houses, and returned home, with a diligent description of the coaste, in the space of foure monethes, with many commodities of the countrie which he showed me."

Raleigh's patent was dated March 25, 1584. Under this, but transferred later to new parties, Smith made a settlement at Jamestown, during which he was, he says, constantly on the lookout for Norumbega. The name was familiar, but the locality was undetermined.

THE TESTIMONY OF CHAMPLAIN TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE CITY OF NORUMBEGA ON THE CHARLES.

The true story of Champlain has been misunderstood or altogether overlooked, as I conceive, for almost three hundred years. He has not been expected to testify to the presence of Norumbega on the Charles. His story is especially interesting therefore as the authority accepted and defended by Dr. Slafter and Dr. Parkman.

PURCHAS (ed. of 1613, p. 628) says: —

"The inhabitants of these parts [region of Port Royal, New Brunswick] were termed Souriquois. From them westward are the people called Etschemins [now found at Passamaquoddy], where the next port, after you are past the river of St. John, is Saint Croix, where they erected a fort and wintered. Threescore leagues west from thence is the river Kinibeki, and from thence the land turneth north and south to Malabarre [part of the east face of Cape Cod].

"Authors place in that former extension of land betwixt east and west a great town and faire river called *Norumbega*, by the savages called *Agguncia*."

This is almost the language of Thevet. Purchas continues: —

"These French discoverers [De Mont's historiographers, Champlain, Lescarbot, Potrincoart] utterly deny this history, affirming that there are but cabans [cabins]

here and there, made with perkes [poles] and covered with barks of trees or with skins; [and they follow with] *and both river and inhabited place is called Pentagoet*, and there can be no great river (as they affirmed), because the great River of Canada [St. Lawrence] hath (like an insatiable merchant) engrossed all these water commodities, so that other streams are in manner but pedlars."¹

It was, according to Purchas and general geographical literature, *between the Kennebec and Cape Cod* that the great town of Norumbega lay.

From this record of Purchas it seems, as well as from the text and the map of Lescarbot of 1609, and that of Champlain of 1612, that some of De Mont's exploring parties had been advised, after their failure on the Penobscot in the previous year, of the looked-for locality on the Charles, and had visited the site of Norumbega. De Mont's officers and men found relatively few dwellings at the place to which they were conducted, the settlement some time before having, except at the season of fishing, ceased to be of special resort. It had dwindled with the dilution of the Norse blood.

The city three quarters of a mile long to Ingram in 1569, to Stephen Bellinger in 1583 was found to have become a town of only fourscore houses, covered, like the "cabans" of Champlain, "*with barks of trees*." The houses were of perishable material, and were fewer at the time of De Mont's expedition than they were twenty-one years before. They were so few that they did not fulfil the needs of the inflamed imaginations of the Frenchmen. They had sought the city on the Penobscot (the Pentagoet), which according to Champlain *must* be the river Norumbega, but had failed to find it. They were not only disappointed, but they were vexed. To be sure, the city had *not been promised* on the *Pentagoet*, nor had the river or remains of dwellings there been called, by the natives, Norumbega. Nevertheless, Champlain had come to the conclusion that *that must* be the river on which the city of the same name would be found. It was

¹ On many early maps the country between Lake Champlain and the coast of Massachusetts is represented as very narrow, and on some the Lake is connected with the ocean between Cape Ann and Cape Cod.

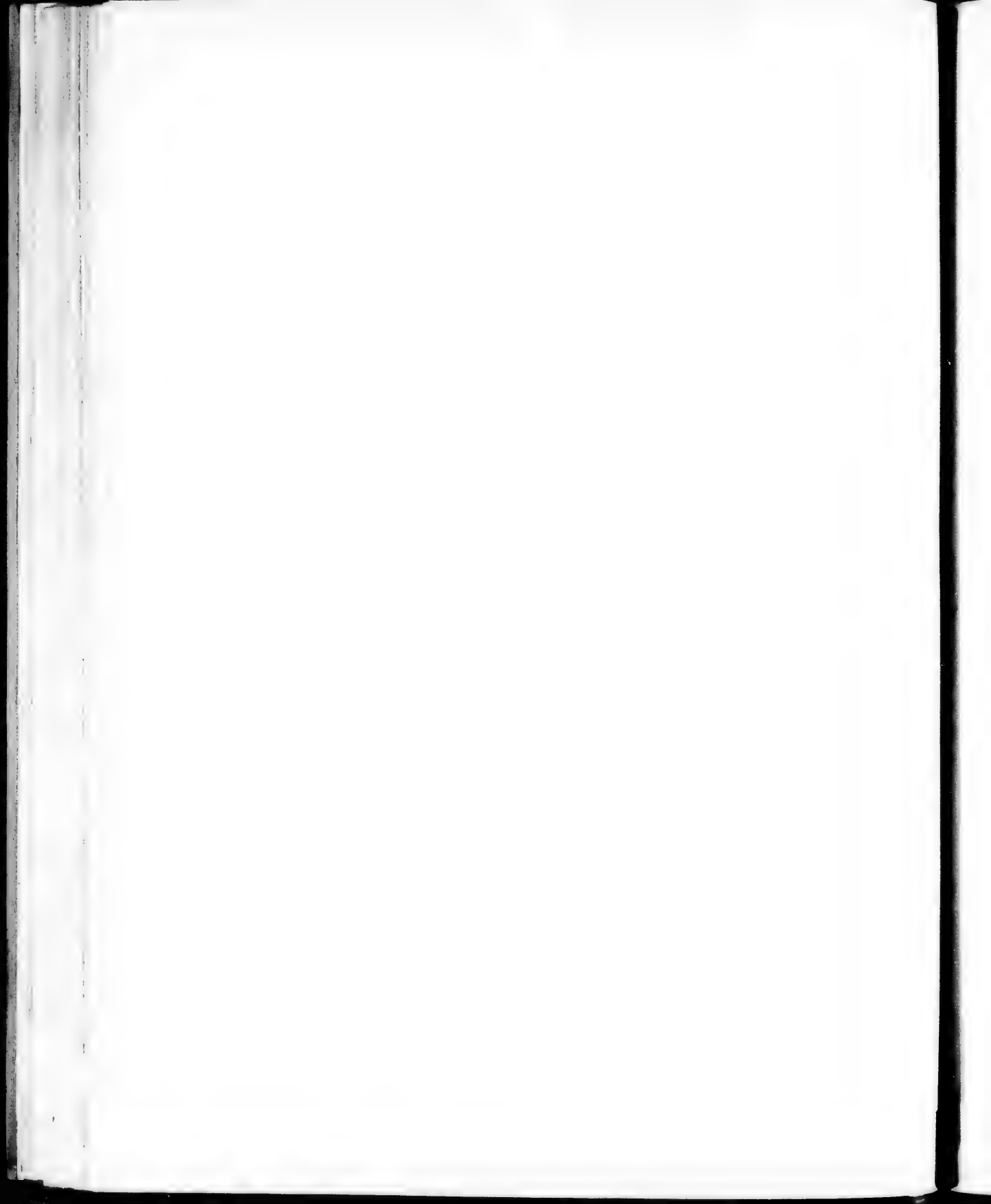
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the only one having an *adequate drainage basin* to furnish water for a large river. But they did not find a city on its banks. Still inquiring for an ancient town, they were conducted by natives up the Charles. Somewhere below the inflow of a branch from the south (the Cheesecake?) and another from the north (Beaver Brook?), and above the head of the Bay, according to the map, they found a region of scattered "cabans" (wigwams), which was pointed out to them (so one reads between the lines) as the site for which they were looking. These "cabans" figured on both Champlain's and Lescarbot's maps are the imperishable record of what was at Watertown at the opening of the seventeenth century.¹

Could men with pictures of Paris and Parisian civilization in their brains have been more astounded?

It is conceivable that like Roger Clapp, twenty-six years later, they had attempted the ascent of the river with a boat of too deep draught, or at ebb-tide. They therefore took to the land, and approached the site of the dam and walls at Watertown from the north. They found the site largely overgrown with wood, and remains only of the perishable architecture of the Indians. It was too much! Bellinger, twenty-one years before, had counted eighty houses. Some of them had doubtless fallen to decay; but all of them would have seemed few to the Frenchmen, and were, relatively, few. Thirteen years earlier, Ingram, estimating the length somewhere probably from the bowlder dam, down along the walled river, with the terraces above (against the ancient Hunnewell gardens), found remains of what he called a city, three quarters of a mile long. The Dauphin map of 1546 bore the figure of a fortified gateway to a city above the arm of the sea, and an armed enemy near to indicate the character of the locality and in some degree the extent of the city.

¹ Attention has already been drawn to the two exploring parties, and to the exhibition of two rivers. On one, issuing from a lake (the *bega*), against the mouth of Stony Brook, the name *Yrocois* occurs. This bears the name *R. du gas*. At the mouth of the other is the elbow of Nantasket and the name *Chouacoet* (Cohasset).

There may of course have been two very unlike charts by different members of one party, thus contributing to the confusion which led to the obscurity at this point on the map of 1632.

Was this the great city, with walls and gates and towers? What were all the remains they found, to Frenchmen who knew of cities of the Old World? The story must be a myth! The city had never been! "Those who described have never seen it," said Champlain; and in mingled vexation and forgetfulness he struck out all mention of the city and country of Norumbega from his map of 1632.

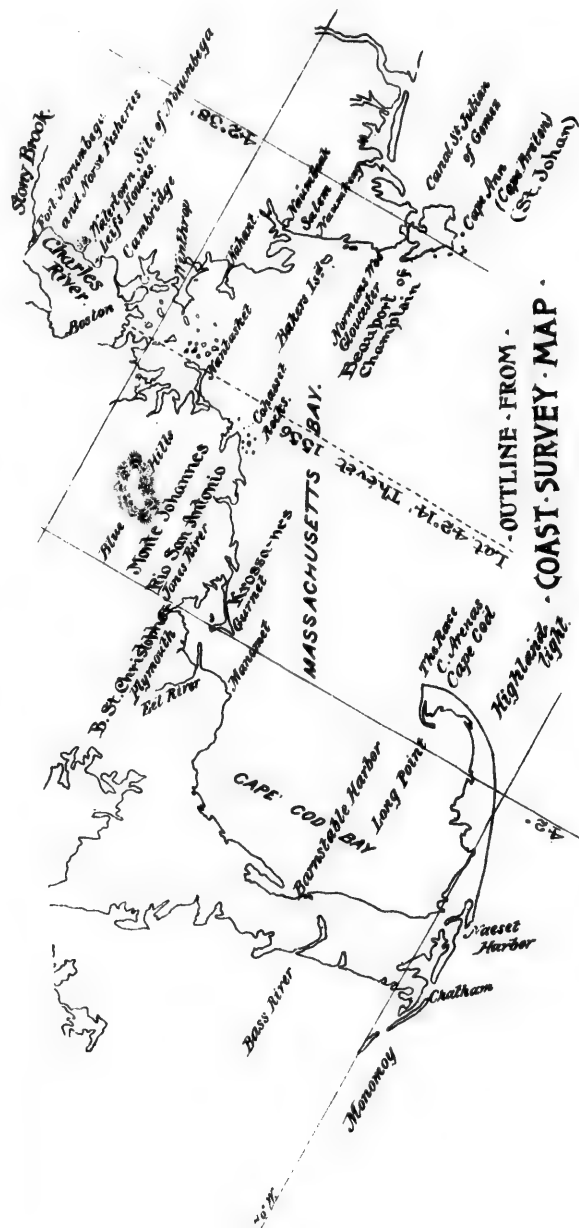
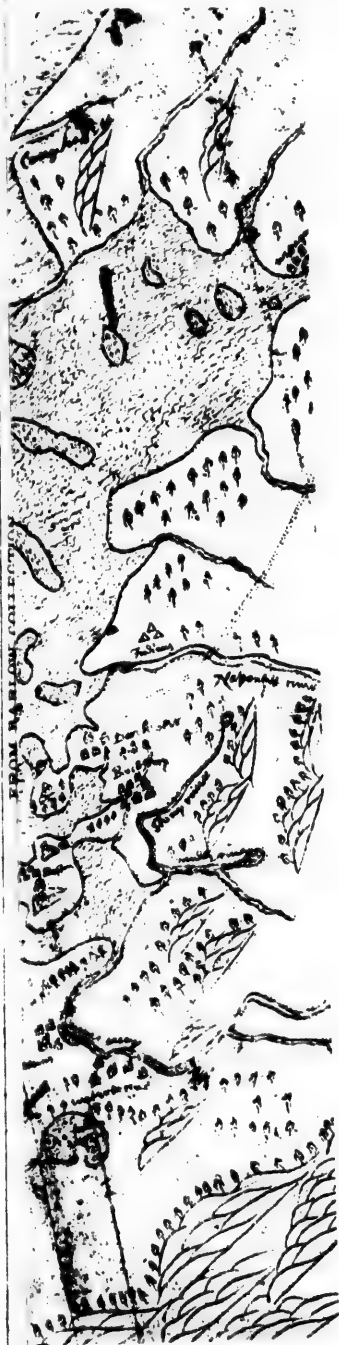
The sheet of maps which follows, entitled "Transition period in regard to Norumbega in the seventeenth century," attaches itself naturally to that entitled "Was there a city of Norumbega?" It shows the confusion that grew, in part at least, out of Champlain's report. It perhaps also shows how skillfully the site of the seaport of Norumbega had been chosen. It was quite inland, and accessible from the sea only at high tide.

At the mouth of the Charles we have on one of the maps a river *God* (betraying a confused memory of *Pemtaoet*), and a crowd of other names with little regard to actual geography. The student will recognize the effort of the cartographers to adjust the statements of Champlain with what had previously been accepted as true. In the struggle to do homage to Champlain's authority, we have positions reversed and names given as alternates. There are also other phases of the confusion into which cartographers were thrown by Champlain. Champlain (through detailed officers, if not personally present) was at the site of Watertown, and saw what the natives knew as the remains of the ancient city of Norumbega. And we have on other maps Carinas and Cape Breton long after Gosnold had given Cape Cod to one, and Prince Charles Cape Ann to the other.

TRANSITION PERIOD IN REGARD TO NORUMBEGA, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

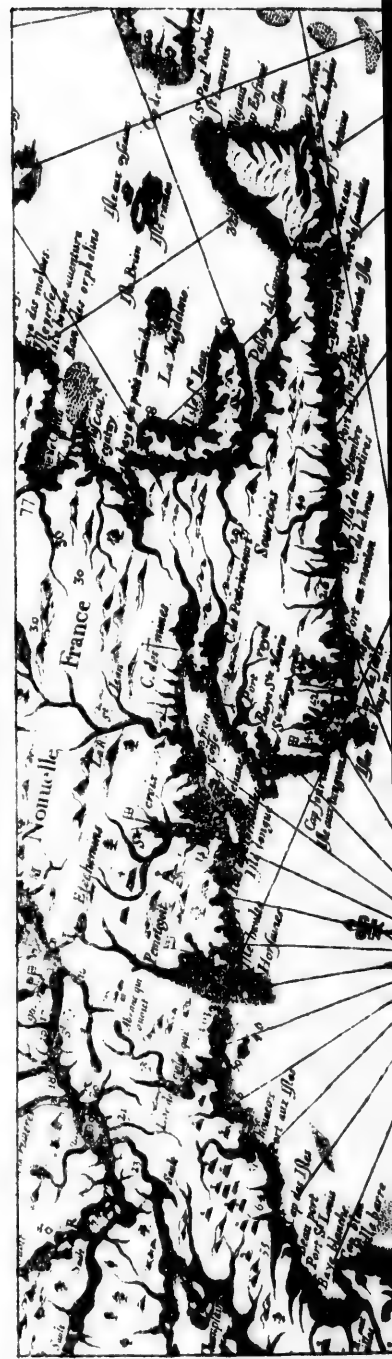
This series of maps presents, first, Lescarbot (1609), *with a collection of cabins on or near the site of Watertown*, on the river (Charles), at the mouth of which is an archipelago and a cape called Chouacoet (Cohasset).

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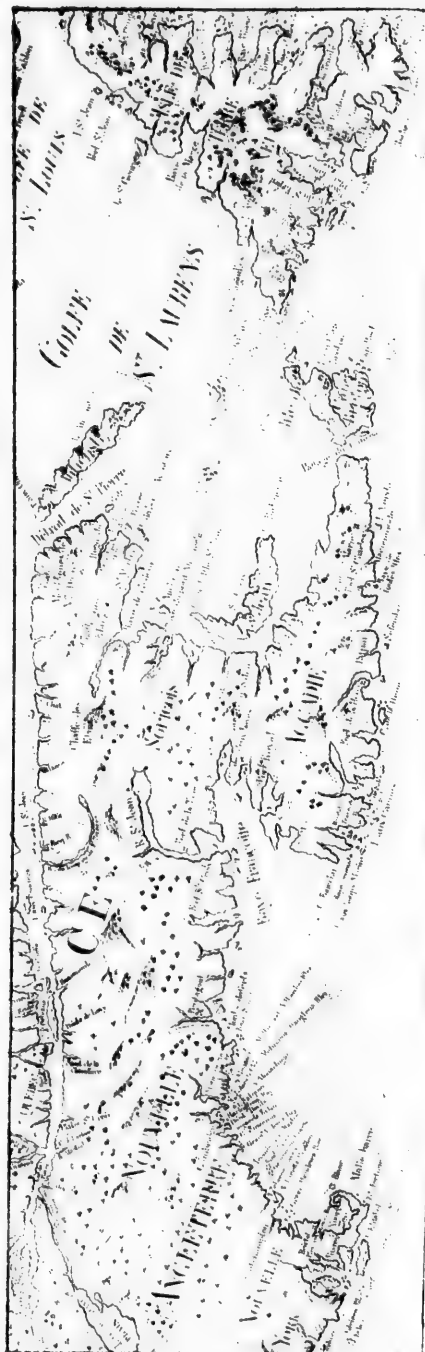


PART OF LESCABOT'S MAP, 1609





CHAMPLAIN 1632, BREVOORT COLLECTION



FROM BARLOW COLLECTION

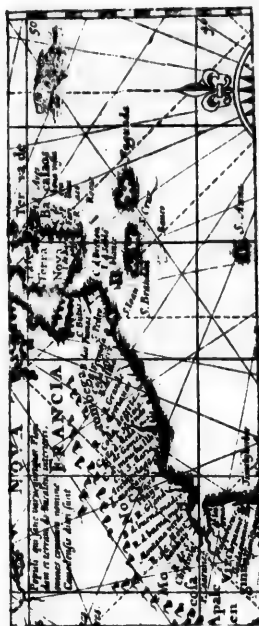


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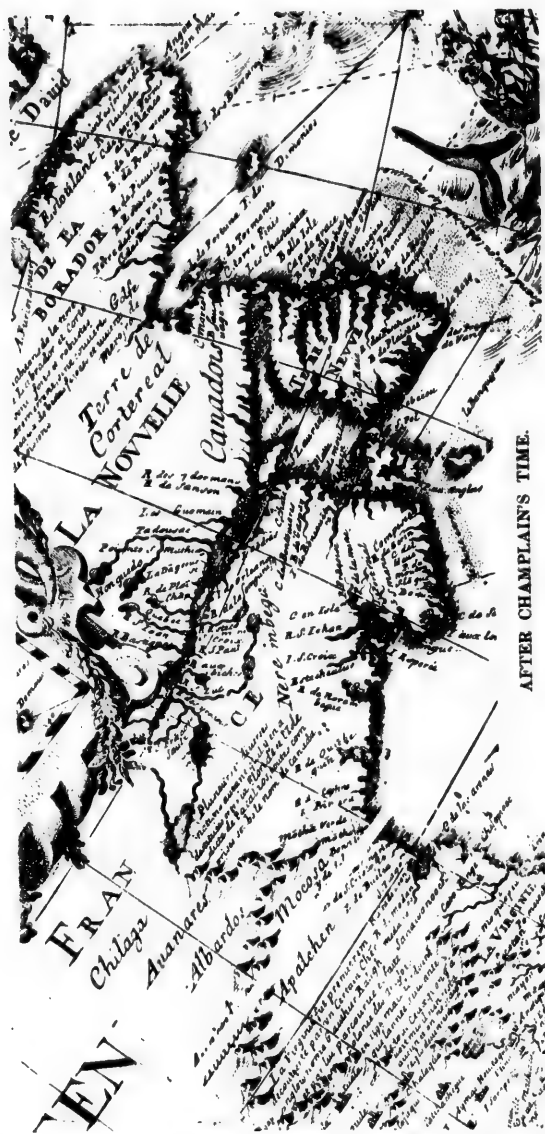




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MEHRAM.

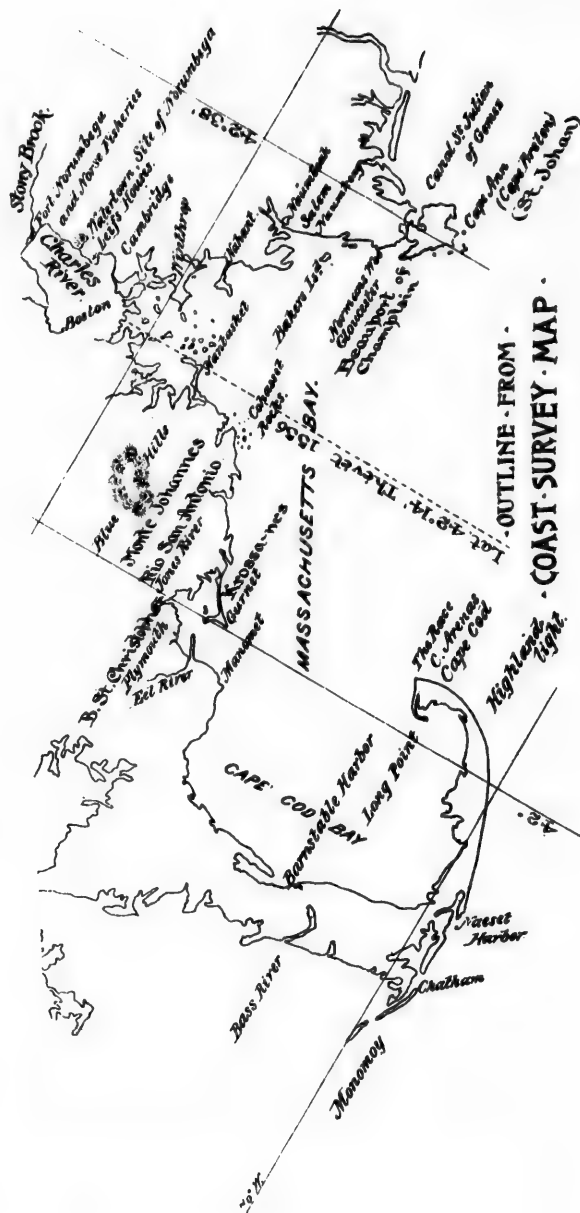
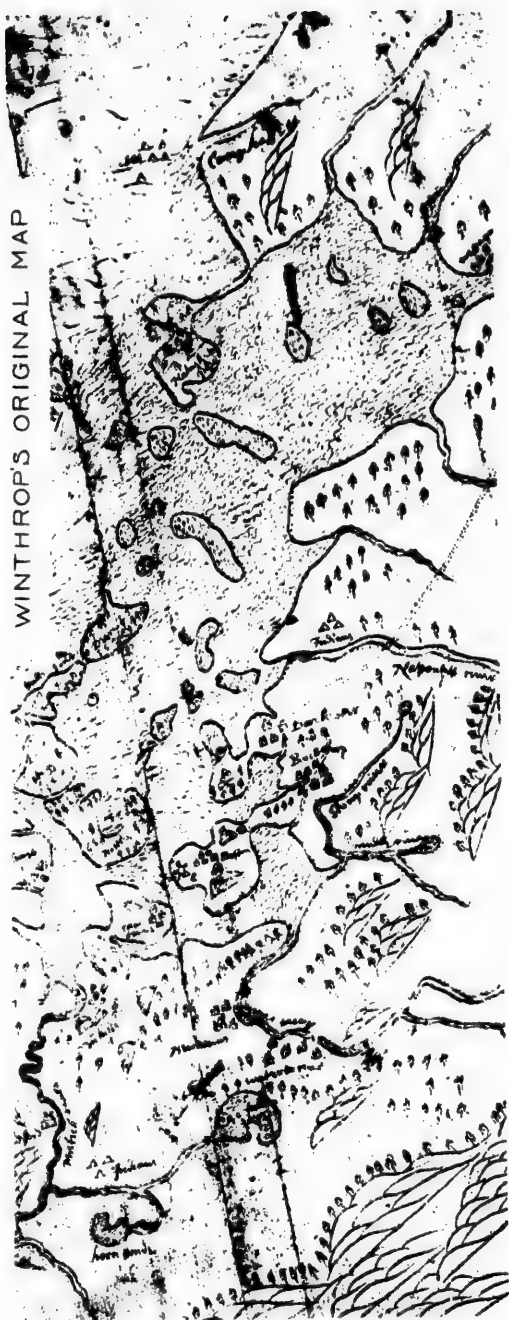


AFTER CHAMPLAIN'S TIME.



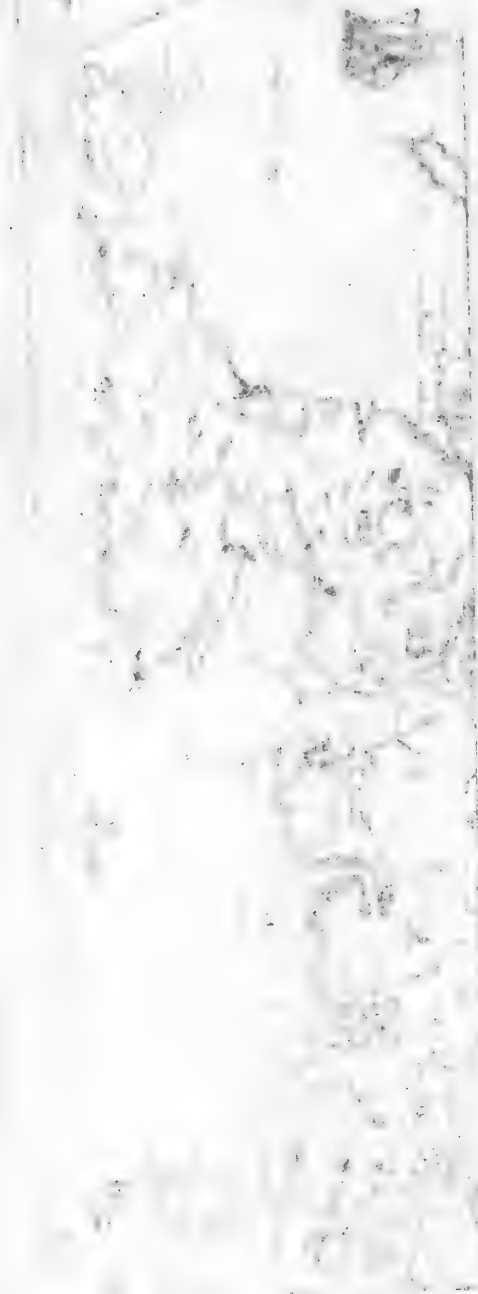


WINTHROP'S ORIGINAL MAP



**OUTLINE · FROM ·
COAST · SURVEY · MAP ·**

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Following this is the map of Champlain of 1612, having on it Naranbergue, which he suppressed on the map of 1632. On both maps he leaves the evidence of a visit made to Watertown, on the Charles River. On the river (Charles), at the entrance to the mouth of which Champlain gives the *elbow* near Chouacoet, — given also, less distinctly, by Lescarbôt; described in its name Ainyascon (*arm*), with its latitude $42^{\circ} 14'$, by Thevet; given also by Winthrop (1634) as Coneyhasset, and by Wood, and on all early local maps, and on the Coast Survey, as Cohasset, — on this river, *at the site of Watertown (that is, above the interior bay), Champlain figures a cluster of cabins, the evidences of occupancy. At this point are found to-day the walls, docks, wharves, and basins which are ascribed by me to the ancient city of Norumbega.*

The three following French maps, from the collection of the late General Barlow, of New York, show the perplexity that followed Champlain's discovery of Norumbega on the Penobscot, or rather the failure of Champlain to recognize it anywhere. On the first of the three the cartographer makes Quinnoqueuin (Kennebec) and Pemtagoet (Penobscot) duplicate names of the same stream. This was evidently produced after the building of Fort Castine at the mouth of the Penobscot.

This map also presents Vingaert's Eylan (Vineland), south of the Quinnoqueuin and against the name *Cambridge*, — the very site of Leir's houses.

The second of the French maps restores the conditions of relative position.

The third places the Kennebec north of the Pemtagoet, and gives Fort Pemtagoet, or Norumbegue, as an alternative, on a river, with branches connecting lakes and ponds, corresponding more fairly with the features of the Charles than with those of the Penobscot.

Next are two maps, — Solis and Merriam, — on which impatient and confounded cartographers have placed every name of the Charles they could find. Both of them, however, are loyal to Cape Breton and Carenas, and to Norumbega as a province in Nova Francia.

Next is a map (anonymous) for which I am indebted to my friend Professor Marcou, on which is a remarkably correct outline of the coast,—better than Champlain's and than some others after Champlain's time, but retaining the earlier name of Cape de las Arenas.

On the next map,—Winthrop (1634),—is the stone dam, built of rounded bowlders, as existing at and before the advent of the English, the site of which Winthrop has indicated in the name "rip." It was then as now at the head of tide water, and at ebb tide marked the commencement of ripples,—a gentle fall. Here were fisheries, with a weir,—authorized by Winthrop 1631–1632, and indicating a recognized fall which the fish could not easily pass on their way to spawning ground.

On Winthrop's map is Coneyhasset (Cohasset), Nantasket (the elbow), the Back Bay,—shown on Solis, 1598, and described in the Vineland Sagas, and by Verrazano,—and the Charles, including the site of the city of Norumbega, at the line separating salt water from fresh.

What has gone before may be regarded as having established that—

1. There was a city of Norumbega.
2. That its latitude was about $42^{\circ} 20'$.
3. That the river on which it stood bore a name with numerous equivalents, which was one of a series in the forty-third degree, *always appearing* at the same point in the order of succession; and its name was the CHARLES.

We have thus transferred to the support of the discovery of Norumbega the testimony of Champlain and Ilescarbot.

HAKLUYT'S DISCOURSE ON WESTERN PLANTING.

Repeated quotations have been made from this volume. Let us glance at the surroundings and the times of the authority.

In 1582 Michael Lok dedicated to his friend Sir Philip Sidney his map of North America, embodying the early chart of John Cabot's discovery of

1497, and having on it the name "Norumbega" against a point not far from the mouth of the river Charles.

This was the period of Philip Sydney, of Walter Raleigh, of Humphrey Gilbert, of Leicester, of Walsingham, of Cecil.

It was in the reign of the Protestant Queen of England. It was in the life of Mary Queen of Scots. Philip II. had assumed the championship of the Catholic faith. Spanish galleons were filling his coffers with gold and silver from his American possessions. His purpose to suppress Protestantism in England had been divined. The loyal men about the throne of Elizabeth, led by Raleigh, conceived the idea of establishing in the New World an earlier Bermuda,—a colony ostensibly for the usual ends of commercial enterprise, but including a fortified seaport, from which vessels might issue under the English flag to prey upon the Spanish treasure-laden vessels. This would, it was urged, compel Philip to keep a strong naval force in American waters to convoy the ships freighted with the fruit of her conquests, industries, and spoliations, and so prevent the threatened attack of the Invincible Armada. To further this end, mainly at Raleigh's instance Richard Hakluyt, a young scholar of great promise, was employed to prepare a skilfully written argument, showing the advantages to England of the immediate colonization of Norumbega,—a country of undetermined boundaries, extending far to the north and south, and having a chief city and seaport, on the west side of the Atlantic. The letter, entitled "Western Planting," which he prepared, was preserved in manuscript. Its date was 1585. Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," containing Lok's map, had preceded it by three years.

Within relatively a few years the "Western Planting" has been brought to light through the efforts of the late Rev. Dr. Leonard Woods, of Bowdoin College. Edited by Dr. Woods and the late Dr. Charles Deane, it was published by the Maine Historical Society, 1877.

From this volume I have drawn accounts of personal visits to Norumbega before 1584, to crown the geographical argument resting mainly on charts, the absolute demonstration afforded by the latitudes and rela-

tions of Allefonsee and Thevet, and, as has been pointed out, the unintended confirmation of Champlain and Lescarbot.

Elizabeth had not seen her way clear to aiding from the royal treasury the plan of Raleigh and his friends to establish a colony earlier, by almost fifty years, than Winthrop's. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had been lost in his attempt to reach Norumbega.

There was provided no place of security for a British fleet in American waters, from which corsairs might have issued to pester the Spanish galleons, and so prevent the sailing of a war fleet to attack England.

It was deemed wiser, after the birth of James VI., to extinguish all rivalry between the crowns of Scotland and England by the tragedy of Feb. 8, 1587, at Fotheringay Castle.

In 1588 the Armada appeared. It was happily scattered.

It is not without its interest to students of Massachusetts history that the ancient city of Norumbega, at Watertown on the Charles, might earlier, by three hundred years, have been recognized as the first city in America north of the Spanish possessions.

WINTHROP'S MAP OF 1634.

Whoever has followed this discussion will look with interest upon the map produced by Winthrop in 1634¹ from data collected, some of it, soon after his arrival in 1630. On this map the shaded salt water is indicated on the Charles up to the head of tide-water, and there sweet water begins on his map as it does to-day. The point which separates the sea water from the fresh, is marked by two bars across the river. On the Merrimack Winthrop marks the falls, and writes "Falls" against the mark. He marks a "Weer" on the Saugus. If he witnessed or knew of the building of a dam across the Charles at Watertown, his

¹ I have introduced a part of this map discovered by Mr. Henry Waters, the eminent genealogist, among the manuscripts of the Sloan collection in the British Museum.

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HELIOTYPE COPY OF WINTHROP'S
 FOUND BY MR. HENRY WATE



OF WINTHROP'S ORIGINAL MAP OF 1634.

MR. HENRY WATERS IN ENGLAND.

Between Pages 74-75.

map would have borne at this point the name "Dam." Instead of this it bears the name "Rip."¹

WHAT REMAINS OF THE WALLS OF NORUMBEGA.

Do we wonder that so little of ancient Norumbega remains? What right have we to ask for more? What remains of the city of the Pharaohs of the Exodus; of Nineveh; of Troy; of Baalbec? What have we of Delphi; of Phœnicia; of Etruria? What remains of the Rome of the Cæsars? What of the York or the Chester of the Romans, and of the London which William of Normandy saw? More, perhaps; but relatively how much more, than still exists of Norumbega? I doubt if any one can point to as much stone-wall of the Boston of a hundred years ago as the resident of Watertown may still claim to exist of the Norumbega of the times before the Bretons first went up the Charles.

I add a photograph of a portion — perhaps a large third — of the wall on the north side of Charles River below Watertown, which doubtless, with much repair by the proprietors, fulfils to-day, as eight to nine hundred years ago it did, the office of deepening the water at high tide immediately below the Norumbega dam.

WHAT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

At the outset of this communication it was stated that the battlefield of the Northmen was at Watertown. Let us see what has been established as the citadel of Norumbega. We may take the evidence in reverse.

¹ *Rip* means a sudden break in the descent from still water. It was called "falls" by Wood, Joscelyn, and Dunton. The dam now bears a flush-board, which rises a foot or more above the crest of stone, — giving a total fall at the flouring mill, less than a quarter of a mile below, of about four and a half feet. Viewed from the north bank, where Winthrop saw it, the gentle cascade may not have been seen, as the islands (wharves penetrated by docks) were wooded, and the point of view was to the west of the line of the dam.

1. Winthrop found in the forty-third degree the falls at the bowlder dam across the Charles, of which the various walls of Norumbega, as a commercial seaport, are but the sequences. (See "Discovery of Norumbega," 1889.)

2. Twenty-six years before (1604), in the same latitude, Champlain was conducted to the scattered remains (cabins covered with *bark of trees* and skins) of what was recognized by the natives of the neighborhood as Norumbega. Champlain and his associates are recorded in 1613 (Purchas, p. 628) as denying that these scattered dwellings were the remains of the Norumbega described in the literature of geography, as lying between the Kennebec and Cape Cod.

3. Twenty-one years earlier (1583) Bellinger (Hakluyt's friend) visited the city of Norumbega, found it still to contain eighty houses covered with *bark of trees*, and carrying on an extensive and varied commerce.

4. Three years earlier (1580) John Walker, sent by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, visited the north side of the river, on which the city was situated, nine leagues from its mouth, where he found in one house three hundred hides, each of eighteen square feet (buffalo skins?).

5. Captain Jenynge and his mate, Smith, told Hakluyt of Spaniards who had been driven on the coast of Norumbega, and "lighted on a towne on a ryvers side," which they affirmed to be above a quarter of a mile in length.

6. David Ingram was at Norumbega in 1569, eleven years before "Sir Humphrey Gilbert's man," and found a city three quarters of a mile long.

7. Ramusio (1556) describes Norumbega with great precision, as a city and country, and wrote of its people and products.

8. Thevet was on our coast in 1556, determined the latitude of the mouth of the Charles River to be $42^{\circ} 14'$, and wrote of the city and fort of Norumbega on the river of the same name, — earlier, he said, called on some charts the Rio Grande.

9. Allefonsee was here in 1542-43, and determined the latitude of Cape Ann and the site of the city of Norumbega, on the river of the same name.

10. Parmentier in 1539 recorded the position of the city, or country, with regard to Cape Breton (Cape Ann), and noted the features of the country.

11. Gomez in 1525 kidnapped people of Norumbega, and carried them home to Spain.

12. Verrazano (1524) visited the country, and recorded on his map Norse names, some of which are still preserved on our maps, — Norman's Oe and Naumkeag.

13. Ayllon, in 1523, was made governor of several provinces in the region of the Baccalaos, extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the neighborhood of the latitude of Bermuda, one of which was Arambe = Arembi (Peter Martyr), whose site was on the Gammas, — the Charles, — identical with that of Norumbega. Back to this point the charts indicate the presence of a city on the Charles by a significant typographical character. The discovery was made by Miruelo in 1520.

14. Ruysch (1507) found here the Rio Grande, — the earliest name of the Charles in the sixteenth century, — with islands at its mouth, and Cape Cod, then an island (bearing the equivalent name of Insel Baccalaurus); also the Baya de Rockas (Bay of Rocks), figured on subsequent maps, and the equivalent of the numerous breakers indicated on the Coast Survey charts, in the northern part of Massachusetts Bay.

15. Cortereal was here in 1500, and left his name to the region of the river Norumbega. (See Kunstmann.)

16. Cosa's map of the same date, indorsed by Dr. Slafter (the probable work of a sailor who had been with John Cabot), has preserved for us Cape Ann (Cape Britain = Cape Breton) in Cavo de Yngla Terra, — the mouth of the Charles, and also the islands, then at the summit of Cape Cod, but now connected by drifting sands with the mainland.

17. Cabot's chart of 1497, indorsed by Michael Lok (1582), presents the outline of Massachusetts Bay, its northern and southern capes, and the archipelago at the mouth of the Charles, and on it the name NORUMBEGA.

A RÉSUMÉ FROM ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW, INCLUDING AUTHORITIES.

1. There was a region of country in America called Norumbega.—Charlevoix, Purchas, Champlain, Hakluyt, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Dr. John Dee, Ramusio, Thevet, Allefonsce, Parmentier, Gomez, Verrazano, Peter Martyr.

2. There was a city of Norumbega. Numerous maps of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries show it.

3. It was described by Allefonsce, Thevet, Ramusio, David Ingram, Stephen Bellinger, Hakluyt, Wytfliet, Champlain, Lescarbot, and Purchas.

4. It was visited by Ingram, who found it three quarters of a mile long; later by Stephen Bellinger, who counted there eighty houses; by Walker, Thevet, Allefonsce, in the sixteenth century; and by a party under the direction of Champlain in 1604.

5. It was situated on a river in the forty-third degree.—Allefonsce, Thevet, Purchas, Ogilby, Buno's Cluverius.

6. It was in the original New France.—Verrazano, Allefonsce, Mercator, Wytfliet, and maps generally of the sixteenth century.

7. At the mouth of the river was an archipelago.—The Vineland Sagas, Cosa, Ruysch, Verrazano, Gomez, Ribero, Allefonsce, Thevet, Lok, Champlain, and the Coast Survey.

8. At the entrance to the archipelago was a salient of the shape of the human arm, called *Aiugascon* by the Iroquois ("the human arm"), and *Nantasket* by Winthrop and the Coast Survey. The arm is described by Thevet; figured by Champlain, Lescarbot, Winthrop, and the Coast Survey.

9. The latitude of this arm was determined by Thevet as $42^{\circ} 14'$. The Coast Survey gives it $42^{\circ} 18'$.

10. The river was called Rio Grande by Ruysch (1507), Mercator, Wytfliet, and others, and Norumbegue by Allefonsce and Thevet. Kohl and Thevet say the names "Grande" and "Norumbegue" applied to the same river.

11. The river, whose outer mouth is at Nantasket, John Smith called the Charles, — the name it still bears.

12. The site of the city, according to Purchas, speaking for the literature of the geography of the sixteenth century, was within the land between the Kennebec and Cape Cod, — the forty-third degree.

13. Champlain (1604) figured on his map (1612), and Lescarbot on his map (1609), between the Kennebec and Cape Cod (Malebarre), a cluster of houses, and described it as consisting only of scattered bark-covered cabins, upon the bank of a river emptying into an archipelago.

14. At the outer entrance to the archipelago from the sea was the arm-shaped cape (Nantasket, — Point Allerton), without which was a rocky cape called by Champlain and Lescarbot — as by Winthrop, the Coast Survey, and local maps — *Cohasset*. Allefonssee and Thevet noted the rocks and swashings and little islets off Cohasset, the Cape of Many Islands.

15. Above the archipelago the river flowed through a lake, landlocked, salt at flood-tide and fresh at ebb, figured between Carenas and Cape Breton, on the maps of Ortelius (1570), Solis (1598), and Botero (1603). On these maps at the same point above the lake (and on Solis's map, with the cipher indicating a city), on the Rio Grande (the Charles), are the names, respectively, Norumbega, Noruega, and Norvega,¹ — all dialectic equivalents of Norway. All these are placed in the original New France, which held the site of Boston. Verrazano found the lake three leagues around, the tide at its mouth eight feet (the minimum measure to-day), and the shores thickly populated, as Thevet did, by a hospitable people. Thorfinn found the entrance of the river into the lake (below our present Brookline bridge) too shallow for navigation at low tide. The depth at this point at low tide is, to-day, three and a half feet. Thorfinn gave to this lake, through which according to Leif a river flowed to the sea, its Icelandic name of *Hóp*, — “a small land-locked bay, salt at flood tide, and fresh at

¹ The name *Norvega* given by Botero, 1603, to the region of Norumbega, was the same as that given to Norway in Europe by Solis (of Seville), 1598; by Bernard Sylvani, 1511; and on *Tabula Catalana*, 1375-1378.

ebb." As a descriptive name it applies well to-day. We call it the *Boston Back Bay*. Leif, Thorwald, Thordinn, and Freydis, all passed through this Hôp on their way to the site of Leif's houses.¹

16. Thordinn records in the Sagas before the mouth of the river "great islands." Allefonsee mentions them, and Thevet describes them in his relation. Champlain calls the entrance "Port aux Isles." On many maps we have, here, Cape de Lagus, Muchas Islas, Lagus Islas, etc. The Harbor was called on earlier maps the Archipelago of Gomez. Boston Harbor, as we know, contains numerous islands.

17. Roger Clapp passed through the Back Bay in 1630, to within less than a mile of the site of the city of Norumbega, and bartered for fish caught by Indians at the falls on the river above. The falls were described by Wood, Joseelyn, and Dunton, as a place where a fish industry was maintained in the spawning season. The industry, at first under personal charter from Winthrop, was continued from that time till some thirty years ago.

18. Winthrop observed the fall (an abrupt break from still water to rapids). It was occasioned by a dam,—an artificial structure composed of massive field-boulders. It was there when he came. It had been built by a people who had come and gone. Besides the dam, there were docks, wharves, a fishway, and a great extent of stone-wall on either side of the river below,—which, from its strikingly smooth face on the river side and its graded height and connections above and below, obviously served to increase at high tide the depth of water immediately below the dam.

A SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT IN ANOTHER FORM.

The detached sheet at page 32 presents a series of maps of the New England coast mainly of the sixteenth century, on which appears the name "Norumbega," variously spelled,—applied sometimes to a country,

¹ See "Problem of the Northmen."

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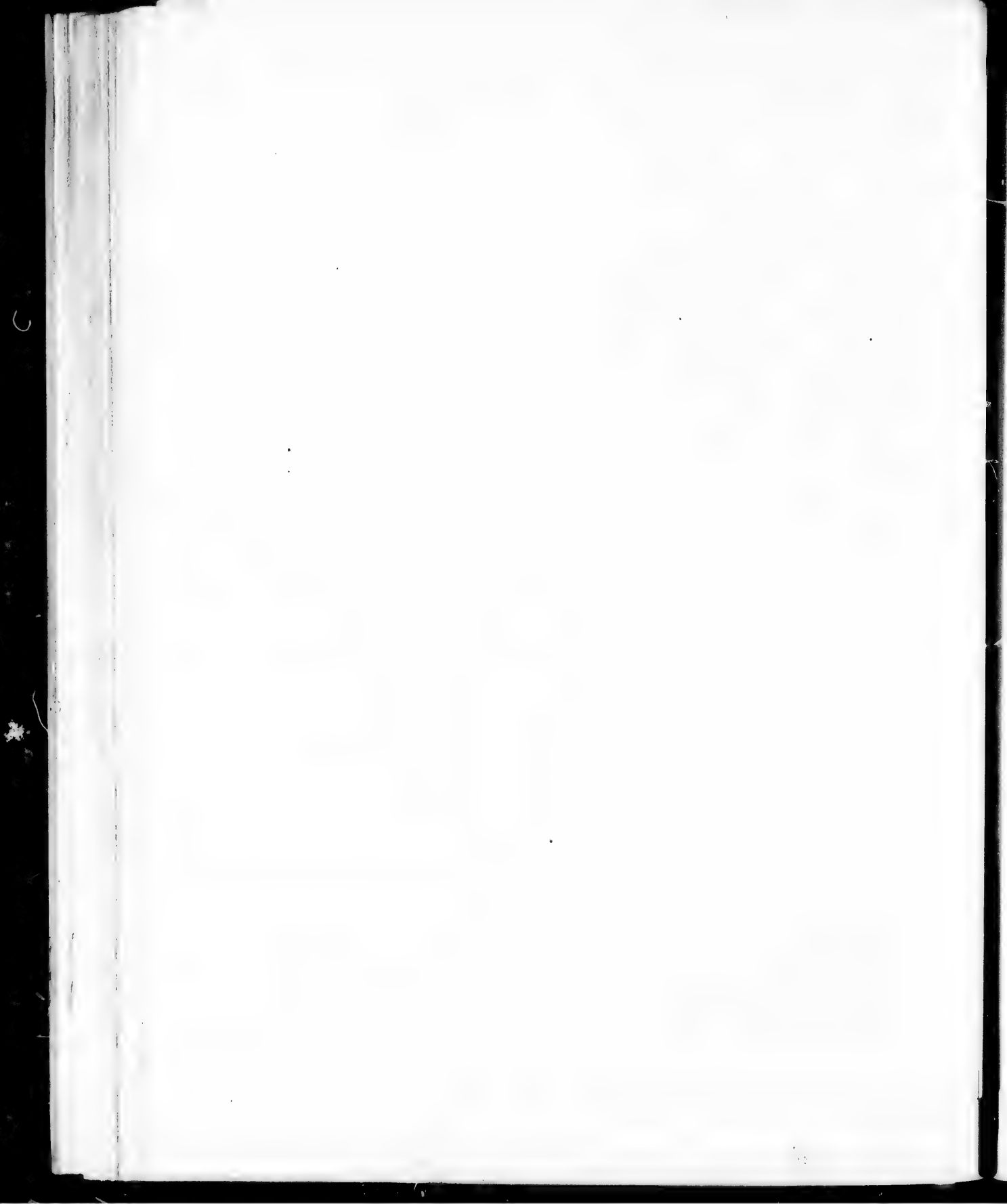
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RIVER



sometimes to a river, but uniformly to a city, and accompanied by a cypher indicating its place on the left bank of the river. This river finds its mouth between Cape Breton and Cape Arenas. The river and the capes have each several names.

The detached sheet at page 55 has at its head the sketches of Allefonsee, showing his discovery that there were *two Cape Bretons*, of which the more southern, according to his relation, was in the forty-third degree. These sketches and the photographic fac-similes—from the manuscript originals in the Bibliothèque Nationale—which follow, and the relation that accompanies them, connect this Cape Breton with the Norumbega River and the city of the same name on its banks, all in the forty-third degree.

The relation of Thevet, from which the sketch at the left is made, gives the latitude of the mouth of this river of Norumbegue—which, as the course of the river is east and west, is also very nearly the latitude of the city on its banks—as $42^{\circ} 14'$. His observation was made at the elbow of Nantasket and Hull,—the outer mouth of the Charles,—which, according to the Coast Survey map, is in $42^{\circ} 18'$, and within the Cape of the Isles, described by himself, Allefonsee, Champlain, Thorfinn, and many others.

To this cape Champlain gives on his map, 1612 (it is also a river on the sheet on page 55), the Indian name he found,—Chouacoet. Lescurbot's map of 1609 gives the same name. It is the modern Cohasset. Champlain also gives on his map the striking figure of the elbow at Nantasket and Hull. Thevet describes it at length, and gives it the Iroquois name *Aiyascon*,—a human arm.

Beyond Boston Bay at the head of tide water, on Champlain's map as we can see above, is a noted angle in the Charles. Above this, at the site of the present Watertown, Champlain gives a cluster of houses,—the indication of a settlement.

The maps that follow show the confusion in cartography that attended the announcement of Champlain and his companion historiographers, under

De Monts, that Norumbega was *not* on the Charles, but if anywhere, on the Penobscot.

The idea that prevailed *before* Champlain's time, as held by Thevet, was that Norumbega was between the Kennebec and Cape Cod,—or Mallebar. Champlain and Lescarbot, and their associates, scouted the idea that the place to which they were conducted as the site of the ancient city of Norumbega could be the true one, and stoutly held that the city was on the Penobscot.¹

One of the map-makers, as we have seen, to meet the exigency, conceived the name of Kennebec and the Pemtaoet (the Penobscot) to be duplicate names of the same river. Another placed the Kennebec *north* of the Penobscot,—which would give Pemtaoet,—the place of the river Norumbegue,—between the Kennebec and Mallebar (Cape Cod).

Champlain in 1632, unable to reconcile his text with what he had found, struck Norumbega, city and country, from his map altogether.

Winthrop's map of 1634 gives Coneyhasset,—the Chouacoet of Champlain and Lescarbot,—and within it Nantasket, the elbow of Champlain and Thevet. He gives the outer and inner harbor, and at the head of tide water the dam and fall.

The outline from the skeleton Coast Survey chart, with some selected and some added names indicating the results of discovery, closes the series.

This map embraces the region of the original New France of Verazano. This New France appears on the maps at the bottom of the first series, page 38, in which was once a Province of Norway, and in that Province the city of Norumbega.

I am not only keenly alive to the fact that there are those who doubt the presence in early times of a colony of Northmen in New England, but I am well aware also, that, whatever proof may be presented, there

¹ Fr. P. Biard wrote, before 1616, that he had sought in vain for the city. (See Letters. Maine Historical Society.)

will continue to be men of this stamp. While my own assent to the proposition was long ago complete, it has consumed not a little time to array the evidence, which was satisfactory to myself, in such potential form as might meet the demands of critical examination on the part of others. Such arrangement is an essential condition to the study of the question, and may fairly be demanded. I have, as I conceive, obeyed the requirement. I feel that I have demonstrated the identity of the site of the ancient city of Norumbega with that of Watertown, on the river Charles, in the State of Massachusetts.

That the Northmen, as soon as Leif and his immediate successors had pointed out the way and reported on the fruitfulness of the land, should have come from inhospitable, ice-clad Greenland to "Vineland the Good," abounding in corn and wine, was most natural. That most who came to Vineland remained, and ultimately became merged in the native race, might naturally have been expected. That this emigration of Northmen (an estimated one of ten thousand) continued, to the ultimate depopulation of Greenland,—a hitherto unsolved problem,—suggests itself as not improbable. As evidences of it, there are found, it is believed, traces of Norse life, habits, ethnological features, and language among the Indian tribes once here at the East, as well as among those now at the West, and not less at the South and North. What a field for antiquarian research is opened up to one who looks out from Norumbega!

Perhaps I ought distinctly to apologize for the numerous repetitions which I have been unable to escape in my effort clearly to present the evidence that has fallen to me. It has seemed desirable to summarize and present it from more than one point of view. I can see that in this way my paper is marred. However, in part justification I have only to say that my paper is intended to be simply an attempt at a convincing arrangement of evidence called for by the nature of the problem, and by the critics who hold that there is little or no substantial evidence that the Northmen ever even set foot upon, much less that

they left any archæological traces in, — such as “one stone piled upon another,” — or colonized, any portion of the soil of the United States.

My next paper will serve to connect the foregoing paper with the “Landfall of Leif and the Site of his Houses,” as told in the Vineland Sagas.

I am very truly yours,

EBEN NORTON HORSFORD.

CAMBRIDGE, April, 1891.

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